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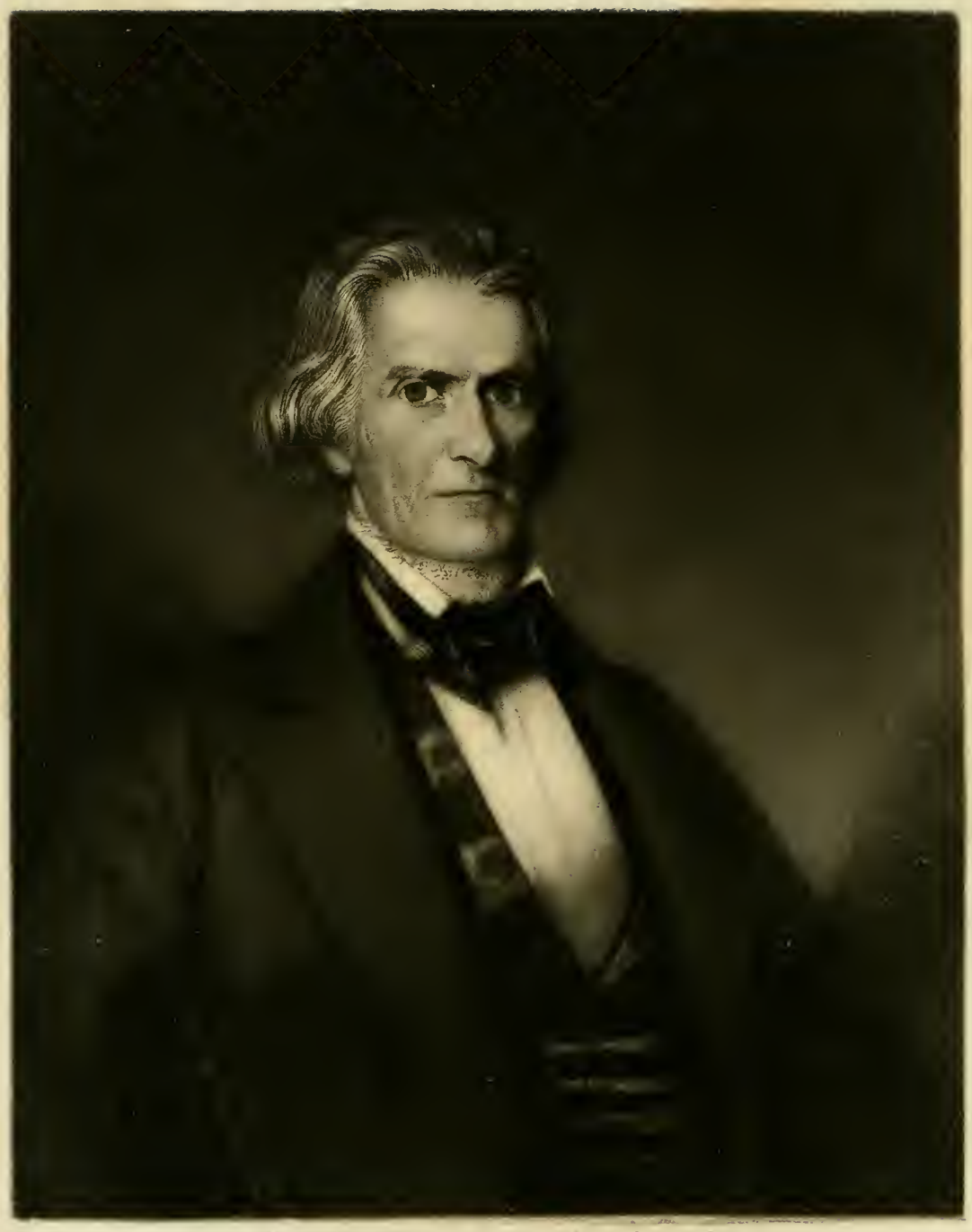

Yours Sincerely
Jonathan
J. C. Calhoun

THE

# CAROLINA TRIBUTE

TO

# CALHOUN.

EDITED BY J. P. THOMAS.

"This was the noblest Roman of them all."—SHAKSPEARE.

COLUMBIA, S. C.:
RICHARD L. BRYAN.
1857.

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# PREFACE.

The present Volume is commended to the People of South Carolina with every confidence that it will be accepted by them as a valued memento of a sad but cherished past. Designed mainly to commemorate the death of Calhoun, it embraces all the important incidents, ceremonies, and testimonials connected with that great event; together with the several discourses, addresses, and orations, elicited from the full hearts of admiring Carolinians. The death at Washington; the meeting in the Senate Hall; the removal home of the mortal remains; the imposing demonstration at Charleston; the Cemetery of St. Philip's; the plain marble slab with its brief though expressive inscription; and then the solemn gathering of our people in various quarters,—*these* are the scenes which the volume depicts—these the recollections it revives. It thus speaks forcibly to the heart, and, moreover, presents a record of mingled love, admiration, and grief, such we conceive as has been vouchsafed to but very few men.

Herein are contained the remarks in Congress of distinguished Senators and Representatives; the Sermon of the Chaplain of the Senate; the Report of the Committee of Twenty-five; the Narrative of the Funeral Honors at Charleston; the Message of Governor Seabrook; the Discourses of the Rev. Messrs. Barnwell, Thornwell, Miles, Palmer, and Smith; and the Orations—instinct with thought and feeling—of Messrs. Allston, Coit, Henry, Whyte, Porcher, Hammond, Rhett, and Porter. Nor must we omit to refer to the Resolutions of the Pennsylvania and the New York Legislature, the Proceedings of the New York Historical Society, and to other memorials of rare interest; all bearing the highest testimony to the virtues and the services of our great statesman, and showing how well the splendor of his public conduct accorded with the stainless purity of his private life.

Precious, therefore, are the memories which this volume embalms; useful is the lesson it teaches; and deathless the spirit it excites. Filled with thoughts of high import—with the sentiments both of laymen and divines, its pages wear the chaste impress of truth, and glow with the fire of genuine eloquence. Impressively they tell of patriotism and noble self-devotion; of duty and its stern behests; of greatness and its large rewards; of *laurels won and cypress scattered.*

With respect to the Engraving here given—which was executed expressly for

this work by a native South Carolinian—we are fully satisfied that it may justly be deemed a truthful likeness. From a highly approved portrait painted by Mr. W. H. Scarborough, the well-known artist, the value of this engraving is enhanced by the fact that it is, perhaps, more accurate than any previous representation of its subject. The admirers of "the great Carolinian" may there see "what manner of man" he was; and generously kindling at the picture, may realize the truth and fitness of the poet's remark:

"He *lives* in fame that dies in virtue's cause."

Finally, as to the share of the Editor in this volume, it is proper to state that his task has been little more than that of compilation and arrangement. He has but conceived and consummated a design which he thought eminently due to the living as well as the dead. He has not here aspired to authorship—has had the honor of making no regular contribution to this work: but it may be conceded that he has rendered the public some service in raising to a proper rank, and putting in an enduring form, the productions of other and far more gifted pens. While, in other words, he has sought to add no jewel of *his own* to the crown, it has been his privilege to arrange in a befitting casket the choice gems of *others*—which he now presents as a votive offering to the memory of Calhoun.

J. P. T.

Columbia, S. C., November, 1857.

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# PROCEEDINGS

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO THE DEATH OF HON. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
MONDAY, April 1, 1850.

On the motion of Mr. King, the reading of the Journal of Thursday was dispensed with.

Mr. BUTLER rose and said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I rise to discharge a mournful duty, and one which involves in it considerations well calculated to arrest the attention of this body. It is to announce the death of my late colleague, the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. He died at his lodgings in this city, yesterday morning, at half-past seven o'clock. He was conscious of his approaching end, and met death with fortitude and uncommon serenity. He had many admonitions of its approach, and without doubt he had not been indifferent to them. With his usual aversion to professions he said nothing for mere effect on the world, and his last hours were an exemplification of his life and character, truth and simplicity.

Mr. CALHOUN, for some years past, had been suffering under a pulmonary complaint, and under its effects could have reckoned but on a short existence. Such was his own conviction. The immediate cause of his death was an affection of the heart. A few hours before he expired, he became sensible of his situation; and when he was unable to speak, his eye and look evinced recognition and intelligence of what was passing. One of the last directions he gave was to a dutiful son, who had been attending him, to put away some manuscripts which had been written a short time before, under his dictation.

Mr. CALHOUN was the least despondent man I ever knew; and he had, in an eminent degree, the self-sustaining power of intellect. His last days, and his last remarks, are exemplifications of what I have just said. Mental determination sustained him, when all others were in despair. We saw him a few days ago in the seat near me, which he had so long and so honorably occupied; we saw the struggle of a great mind exerting itself to sustain and overcome the weakness and infirmi-

ties of a sinking body. It was the exhibition of a wounded eagle, with his eyes turned to the heavens in which he had soared, but into which his wings could never carry him again.

Mr. President, Mr. CALHOUN has lived in an eventful period of our Republic, and has acted a distinguished part. I surely do not venture too much, when I say that his reputation forms a striking part of a glorious history. Since 1811, until this time, he has been responsibly connected with the Federal Government. As Representative, Senator, Cabinet Minister, and Vice President, he has been identified with the greatest events in the political history of our country. And I hope I may be permitted to say, that he has been equal to all the duties which were devolved upon him in the many critical junctures in which he was placed. Having to act a responsible part, he always acted a decided part. It would not become me to venture upon the judgment which awaits his memory. That will be formed by posterity before the impartial tribunal of history. It may be that he will have had the fate, and will have given him the judgment, that has been awarded to Chatham.

I should do the memory of my friend injustice were I not to speak of his life in the spirit of history. The dignity of his whole character would rebuke any tone of remark which truth and judgment would not sanction.

Mr. CALHOUN was a native of South Carolina and was born in Abbeville district, on the 18th March, 1782. He was of an Irish family. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was born in Ireland, and at an early age came to Pennsylvania, thence moved to the western part of Virginia, and after Braddock's defeat, moved to South Carolina in 1756. He and his family gave a name to what is known as the Calhoun settlement in Abbeville district. The mother of my colleague was a Miss Caldwell, born in Charlotte county, Virginia. The character of his parents had no doubt a sensible influence on the destiny of their distinguished son. His father had energy and enterprise, combined with perseverance and great mental determination. His mother belonged to a family of revolutionary heroes. Two of her brothers were distinguished in the Revolution. Their names and achievements are not left to tradition, but constitute a part of the history of the times.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in the Revolution, and in his childhood felt the influence of its exciting traditions. He derived from the paternal stock, intellect and self-reliance, and from the Caldwells, enthusiasm and impulse. The traditions of the Revolution had a sensible influence on his temper and character.

Mr. CALHOUN, in his childhood, had but limited advantages of what is termed a literary tuition. His parents lived in a newly-settled country, and among a sparse population. This population had but a slight connection with the lower country of South Carolina, and were sustained by emigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania. There was, of course, but limited means of instruction to children. They imbibed most of their lessons from the conversation of their parents. Mr. CALHOUN has always expressed himself deeply sensible of that influence. At the age of thirteen he was put under the charge of his brother-in-law, Dr. Waddell, in Columbia county, Georgia. Scarcely had he commenced his literary course before his father and sister died. His brother-in-law, Dr. Waddell devoted himself about this time to his clerical duties, and was a great deal absent from home.

On his second marriage he resumed the duties of his academy; and, in his nineteenth year, Mr. CALHOUN put himself under the charge of this distinguished teacher. It must not be supposed that his mind, before this, had been unemployed. He had availed himself of the advantages of a small library, and had been deeply inspired by his reading of history. It was under such influences that he entered the academy of his preceptor. His progress was rapid. He looked forward to a higher arena with eagerness and purpose.

He became a student in Yale College in 1802, and graduated two years afterwards with distinction, as a young man of great ability, and with the respect and confidence of his preceptors and fellows. What they have said and thought of him would have given any man a high reputation. It is the pure fountain of a clear reputation. If the stream has met with obstructions, they were such as have only shown its beauty and majesty.

After he had graduated, Mr. CALHOUN studied law, and for a few years practised in the courts of South Carolina, with a reputation that has descended to the profession. He was then remarkable for some traits that have since characterized him. He was clear in his propositions, and candid in his intercourse with his brethren. The truth and justice of the law inculcated themselves on his mind, and when armed with these he was a great advocate.

His forensic career was, however, too limited to make a prominent part in the history of his life. He served for some years in the Legislature of his native State; and his great mind made an impression on her statutes, some of which have had a great practical operation on the concerns of society. From the Legislature of his own State he was transferred to Congress; and from that time his career has been a part of the history of the Federal Government.

Mr. CALHOUN came into Congress at a time of deep and exciting interest—at a crisis of great magnitude. It was a crisis of peril to those who had to act in it, but of subsequent glory to the actors and the common history of the country. The invincibility of Great Britain had become a proverbial expression, and a war with her was full of terrific issues. Mr. CALHOUN found himself at once in a situation of high responsibility—one that required more than speaking qualities and eloquence to fulfil it. The spirit of the people required direction; the energy and ardor of youth were to be employed in affairs requiring the maturer qualities of a statesman. The part which Mr. CALHOUN acted at this time has been approved and applauded by cotemporaries, and now forms a part of the glorious history of those times.

The names of CLAY, CALHOUN, CHEVES, and LOWNDES, GRUNDY, PORTER, and others, carried associations with them that reached the *heart of the nation*. Their clarion notes penetrated the army,* they animated the people, and sustained the Administration of the Government. With such actors, and in such scenes—the most eventful of our history—to say that Mr. CALHOUN did not perform a second part, is no common praise. In debate he was equal with Randolph, and in council he commanded the respect and confidence of Madison. At this period of his life he had the quality of Themistocles—*to inspire confidence*—which, after all, is the highest of earthly qualities in a public man; it is a mystical something which is felt, but cannot be described.

The events of the war were brilliant and honorable to both statesmen and soldiers, and their history may be read with enthusiasm and delight. The war terminated with honor; but the measures which had to be taken, in a transition to a peace establishment, were full of difficulty and embarrassment. This distinguished Statesman, with his usual intrepidity, did not hesitate to take a responsible and leading part. Under the influence of a broad patriotism, he acted with an uncalculating liberality to all the interests that were involved, and which were brought under review of Congress. His personal adversary at this time, in his admiration for his genius, paid Mr. CALHOUN a beautiful compliment for his noble and national sentiments, and views of policy. The gentleman to whom I refer is Mr. Grosvenor, of New York, who used the following language in debate:

"He had heard with peculiar satisfaction the able, manly, and con-

* Governor Dodge, (now a Senator on this floor,) who was at that time a gallant officer of the army, informs me that the speeches of CALHOUN and Clay were publicly read to the army, and exerted a most decided influence on the spirits of the men.

stitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina. (Here Mr. Grosvenor recurring in his own mind to a personal difference with Mr. CALHOUN, which arose out of the warm party discussions during the war, paused for a moment, and then proceeded.)

"Mr. Speaker, I will not be restrained. No barrier shall exist which I will not leap over, for the purpose of offering to that gentleman my thanks for the judicious, independent and national course which he has pursued in this House for the last two years, and particularly on the subject now before us. Let the honorable gentleman continue with the same manly independence, aloof from party views and local prejudices, to pursue the great interests of his country, and to fulfil the high destiny for which it is manifest he was born. The buzz of popular applause may not cheer him on his way, but he will inevitably arrive at a high and happy elevation in the view of his country and the world."

At the termination of Mr. Madison's administration, Mr. CALHOUN had acquired a commanding reputation; he was regarded as one of the sages of the Republic. In 1817, Mr. Monroe invited him to a place in his Cabinet. Mr. CALHOUN'S friends doubted the propriety of his accepting it, and some of them thought he would put a high reputation at hazard in this new sphere of action. Perhaps these suggestions fired his high and gifted intellect; he accepted the place, and went into the War Department under circumstances that might have appalled other men. His success has been acknowledged. What was complex and confused, he reduced to simplicity and order. His organization of the War Department, and his administration of its undefined duties, have made the impression of an *author*, having the interest of originality, and the sanction of trial.

To applicants for office, Mr. CALHOUN made few promises, and hence he was not accused of delusion and deception. When a public trust was involved, he would not compromise with duplicity or temporary expediency.

At the expiration of Mr. Monroe's administration, Mr. CALHOUN'S name became connected with the Presidency; and from that time to his death he had to share the fate of all others who occupy prominent situations.

The remarkable canvass for the President to succeed Mr. Monroe, terminated in returning three distinguished men to the House of Representatives, from whom one was to be elected. Mr. CALHOUN was elected Vice President by a large majority. He took his seat in the Senate as Vice President on the 4th of March, 1825, having remained in the War Department over seven years.

While he was Vice President, he was placed in some of the most trying scenes of any man's life. I do not now choose to refer to anything that can have the elements of controversy; but I hope I may be permitted to speak of my friend and colleague in a character in which all will join in paying him sincere respect. As a presiding officer of this body, he had the undivided respect of its members. He was punctual, methodical and impartial, and had a high regard for the dignity of the Senate, which, as a presiding officer, he endeavored to preserve and maintain. He looked upon debate as an honorable contest of intellect for truth. Such a strife has its incidents and its trials; but Mr. CALHOUN had, in an eminent degree, a regard for parliamentary dignity and propriety.

Upon General Hayne's leaving the Senate to become Governor of South Carolina, Mr. CALHOUN resigned the Vice Presidency, and was elected in his place. All will now agree, that such a position was environed with difficulties and dangers. His own State was under the ban, and he was in the national Senate to do her justice under his constitutional obligations. That part of his life posterity will review, and I am confident will do it full and impartial justice.

After his senatorial term had expired, he went into retirement by his own consent. The death of Mr. Upshur—so full of melancholy associations—made a vacancy in the State Department; and it was by the common consent of all parties that Mr. CALHOUN was called to fill it. This was a tribute of which any public man might well be proud. It was a tribute to truth, ability and experience. Under Mr. CALHOUN'S counsels Texas was brought into the Union. His name is associated with one of the most remarkable events of history—that of one republic being annexed to another by the voluntary consent of both. He was the happy agent to bring about this fraternal association. It is a conjunction under the sanction of his name, and by an influence exerted through his great and intrepid mind. Mr. CALHOUN'S connection with the Executive department of the Government terminated with Mr. Tyler's administration. As a Secretary of State, he won the confidence and respect of foreign ambassadors, and his dispatches were characterized by clearness, sagacity and boldness.

He was not allowed to remain in retirement long. For the last five years he has been a member of this body, and has been engaged in discussions that have deeply excited and agitated the country. He h died amidst them. I had never had any particuliar association with Mr. CALHOUN, until I became his colleague in this body. I had looked on his fame as others had done, and had admired his character.

There are those here who know more of him than I do. I shall not pronounce any such judgment as may be subject to a controversial criticism. But I will say, as a matter of justice, from my own personal knowledge, that I never knew a fairer man in argument, or a juster man in purpose. His intensity allowed of little compromise. While he did not qualify his own positions to suit the temper of the times, he appreciated the unmasked propositions of others. As a Senator, he commanded the respect of the ablest men of the body of which he was a member; and I believe I may say, that where there was no political bias to influence the judgment he had the confidence of his brethren. As a statesman, Mr. CALHOUN'S reputation belongs to the history of the country, and I commit it to his countrymen and posterity.

In my opinion, Mr. CALHOUN deserves to occupy the first rank as a parliamentary speaker. He had always before him the dignity of purpose, and he spoke to an end. From a full mind, fired by genius, he expressed his ideas with clearness, simplicity and force; and in language that seemed to be the vehicle of his thoughts and emotions. His thoughts leaped from his mind like arrows from a well-drawn bow. They had both the aim and force of a skillful archer. He seemed to have have had little regard for ornament; and when he used figures of speech, they were only for illustration. His manner and countenance were his best language; and in these there was an exemplification of what is meant by Action in that term of the great Athenian orator and statesman, whom, in so many respects, he so closely resembled. They served to exhibit the moral elevation of the man.

In speaking of Mr. CALHOUN as man and neighbor, I am sure I may speak of him in a sphere in which all will love to contemplate him. Whilst he was a gentleman of striking deportment, he was a man of primitive taste and simple manners. He had the hardy virtues and simple tastes of a republican citizen. No one disliked ostentation and exhibition more than he did. When I say he was a *good neighbor*, I imply more than I have expressed. It is summed up under the word *justice*. I will venture to say that no one in his private relations could ever say that Mr. CALHOUN treated him with injustice, or that he deceived him by professions or concealments. His private character was illustrated by a beautiful propriety, and was the exemplification of truth, justice, temperance, and fidelity to all his engagements.

I will venture another remark. Mr. CALHOUN was fierce in his contests with political adversaries. He did not stop in the fight to count losses or bestow favors. But he forgot resentments, and forgave injuries inflicted by rivals, with signal magnanimity. Whilst he spoke freely

of their faults, he could with justice appreciate the merits of all the public men of whom I have heard him speak. He was sincerely attached to the institutions of this country, and desired to preserve them pure and make them perpetual.

By the death of Mr. CALHOUN, one of the brightest luminaries has been extinguished in the political firmament. It is an event which will produce a deep sensation throughout this broad land and the civilized world.

I have forborne to speak of his domestic relations. They make a sacred circle, and I will not invade it.

Mr. Butler then offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved unanimously*, That a committee be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, which will take place to-morrow, at 12 o'clock meridian, and that the Senate will attend the same.

*Resolved unanimously*, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, deceased, late a member thereof, will go into mourning for him for one month, by the usual mode of wearing crape on the left arm.

*Resolved unanimously*, That, as an additional mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. CLAY.—Mr. PRESIDENT: Prompted by my own feelings of profound regret, and by the intimations of some highly esteemed friends, I wish, in rising to second the resolutions which have been offered, and which have just been read, to add a few words to what has been so well and so justly said by the surviving colleague of the illustrious deceased.

My personal acquaintance with him, Mr. President, commenced upwards of thirty-eight years ago. We entered at the same time, togther, the House of Representatives, at the other end of this building. The Congress of which we thus became members was that amongst whose deliberations and acts was the declaration of war against the most powerful nation, as it respects us, in the world. During the preliminary discussions which arose in the preparation for that great event, as well as during those which took place when the resolution was finally adopted, no member displayed a more lively and patriotic sensibility to the wrongs which led to that momentous event than the deceased whose death we all now so much deplore. Ever active, ardent, able, no one was in advance of him in denouncing the foreign injustice which compelled us to appeal to arms. Of all the Congresses with

which I have had any acquaintance since my entry into the service of the Federal Government, in none, in my humble opinion, has been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men as were in the House of Representatives of that Congress which declared the war, and in that immediately following the peace; and, amongst that splendid constellation, none shone more bright and brilliant than the star which is now set.

It was my happiness, sir, during a large part of the life of the departed, to concur with him on all great questions of national policy. And, at a later period, when it was my fortune to differ from him as to measures of domestic policy, I had the happiness to agree with him generally, as to those which concerned our foreign relations, and especially as to the preservation of the peace of the country. During the long session at which the war was declared, we were messmates, as were other distinguished members of Congress from his own patriotic State. I was afforded, by the intercourse, which resulted from that fact, as well as the subsequent intimacy and intercourse which arose between us, an opportunity to form an estimate, not merely of his public, but of his private, life; and no man with whom I have ever been acquainted, exceeded him in habits of temperance and regularity, and in all the freedom, frankness, and affability of social intercourse, and in all the tenderness, and respect, and affection, which he manifested towards that lady who now mourns more than any other, the sad event which has just occurred. Such, Mr. President was the high estimate I formed of his transcendent talents, that if, at the end of his service in the Executive Department, under Mr. Monroe's administration, the duties of which he performed with such signal ability, he had been called to the highest office in the Government, I should have felt perfectly assured that under his auspices, the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of our country would have been safely placed.

Sir, he has gone! No more shall we witness from yonder seat the flashes of that keen and penetrating eye of his, darting through this chamber. No more shall we be thrilled by that torrent of clear, concise, compact logic, poured out from his lips, which, if it did not always carry conviction to our judgment, always commanded our great admiration. Those eyes and lips are closed forever!

And when, Mr. President, will that great vacancy which has been created by the event to which we are now alluding, when will it be filled by an equal amount of ability, patriotism, and devotion to what he conceived to be the best interests of his country?

Sir, this is not the appropriate occasion, nor would I be the appro-

priate person, to attempt a delineation of his character, or the powers of his enlightened mind. I will only say, in a few words, that he possessed an elevated genius of the highest order; that in felicity of generalization of the subjects of which his mind treated, I have seen him surpassed by no one; and the charm and captivating influence of his colloquial powers have been felt by all who have conversed with him. I was his senior, Mr. President, in years—in nothing else. According to the course of nature, I ought to have preceded him. It has been decreed otherwise; but I know that I shall linger here only a short time, and shall soon follow him.

And how brief, how short is the period of human existence allotted even to the youngest amongst us? Sir, ought we not to profit by the contemplation of this melancholy occasion? Ought we not to draw from it the conclusion how unwise it is to indulge in the acerbity of unbridled debate? How unwise to yield ourselves to the sway of the animosities of party feeling? How wrong it is to indulge in those unhappy and hot strifes which too often exasperate our feelings and mislead our judgments in the discharge of the high and responsible duties which we are called to perform? How unbecoming, if not presumptuous, it is in us, who are the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were our perpetual home!

In conclusion, sir, while I beg leave to express my cordial sympathies and sentiments of the deepest condolence towards all who stand in near relation to him, I trust we shall all be instructed by the eminent virtues and merits of his exalted character, and be taught by his bright example to fulfil our great public duties by the lights of our own judgment and the dictates of our own consciences, as he did, according to his honest and best comprehensions of those duties, faithfully and to the last.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I hope the Senate will indulge me in adding a very few words to what has been said. My apology for this presumption is the very long acquaintance which has subsisted between Mr. CALHOUN and myself. We are of the same age. I made my first entrance into the House of Representatives in May, 1813, and there found Mr. CALHOUN. He had already been in that body for two or three years. I found him then an active and efficient member of the assembly to which he belonged, taking a decided part, and exercising a decided influence, in all its deliberations.

From that day to the day of his death, amidst all the strifes of party

and politics, there has subsisted between us, always, and without interruption, a great degree of personal kindness.

Differing widely on many great questions respecting the institutions and government of the country, those differences never interrupted our personal and social intercourse. I have been present at most of the distinguished instances of the exhibition of his talents in debate. I have always heard him with pleasure, often with much instruction, not unfrequently with the highest degree of admiration.

Mr. CALHOUN was calculated to be a leader in whatsoever association of political friends he was thrown. He was a man of undoubted genius and of commanding talent. All the country and the world admit that.

His mind was both perceptive and vigorous. It was clear, quick, and strong.

Sir, the eloquence of Mr. CALHOUN, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned, still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner. These are the qualities, as I think, which have enabled him, through such a long course of years, to speak often, and yet always command attention. His demeanor as a Senator is known to us all—is appreciated, venerated by us all. No man was more respectful to others; no man carried himself with greater decorum, no man with superior dignity. I think there is not one of us but felt, when he last addressed us from his seat in the Senate, his form still erect, with a voice by no means indicating such a degree of physical weakness as did, in fact, possess him, with clear tones, and an impressive, and, I may say, an imposing manner, who did not feel that he might imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived.

Sir, I have not in public nor in private life known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of it in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends. Out of the chambers of Congress, he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him, or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted.

My honorable friend from Kentucky has spoken in just terms of his

colloquial talents. They certainly were singular and eminent. There was a charm in his conversation not often found. He delighted especially in conversation and intercourse with young men. I suppose that there has been no man among us who had more winning manners, in such an intercourse and conversation with men comparatively young, than Mr. CALHOUN. I believe one great power of his character, in general, was his conversational talent. I believe it is that, as well as a consciousness of his high integrity, and the greatest reverence for his intellect and ability, that has made him so endeared an object to the people of the State to which he belonged.

Mr. President, he had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character; and that was, unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations, they were high, honorable and noble. There was nothing groveling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or the heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the republic, I do not believe he had a selfish motive, or selfish feeling.

However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. He is now a historical character. Those of us who have known him here, will find that he has left upon our minds and our hearts a strong and lasting impression of his person, his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall, hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection that we have lived in his age, that we have been his cotemporaries, that we have seen him, and heard him, and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And, when the time shall come when we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism.

Mr. RUSK.—Mr. PRESIDENT: I hope it will not be considered inappropriate for me to say a word upon this solemn occasion. Being a

native of the same State with the distinguished Senator whose death has cast such a gloom upon this Senate and the audience here assembled, I had the good fortune, at an early period of my life, to make his acquaintance. At that time he was just entering on that bright career which has now terminated. I was then a boy, with prospects anything but flattering. To him, at that period, I was indebted for words of kindness and encouragement; and often since, in the most critical positions in which I have been placed, a recurrence to those words of encouragement has inspired me with resolution to meet difficulties that beset my path. Four years ago, I had the pleasure of renewing that acquaintance, after an absence of some fifteen years; and this took place after he had taken an active part in the question of annexing Texas to the United States, adding a new sense of obligation to my feeling of gratitude.

In the stirring questions that have agitated the country, it was my misfortune sometimes to differ from him, but it is a matter of heartfelt gratification for me to know that our personal relations remained unaltered. And, sir, it will be a source of pleasant though sad reflection to me, throughout life, to remember, that on that last day on which he occupied his seat in this chamber, his body worn down by disease, but his mind as vigorous as ever, we held a somewhat extended conversation on the exciting topics of the day, in which the same kind feelings, which had so strongly impressed me in youth, were still manifested toward me by the veteran statesman. But, sir, he is gone from among us; his voice will never again be heard in this chamber; his active and vigorous mind will participate no more in our councils; his spirit has left a world of trouble, care, and anxiety, to join the spirits of those patriots and statesmen who have preceded him to a brighter and better world. If, as many believe, the spirits of the departed hover around the places they have left, I earnestly pray that his may soon be permitted to look back upon our country, which he has left in excitement, confusion, and apprehension, restored to calmness, security, and fraternal feeling, as broad as the bounds of our Union, and as fixed as the eternal principles of justice in which our Government has its foundation.

Mr. CLEMENS.—I do not expect, Mr. President, to add anything to what has already been said of the illustrious man, whose death we all so deeply deplore; but silence upon an occasion like this, would by no means meet the expectations of those whose representative I am. To borrow a figure from the Senator from Kentucky, the brightest star in the brilliant galaxy of the Union has gone out, and Alabama claims a

place among the chief mourners over the event. Differing often from the great Southern statesman on questions of public policy, she has yet always accorded due homage to his genius, and still more to that blameless purity of life which entitles him to the highest and the noblest epitaph which can be graven upon a mortal tomb. For more than forty years an active participant in all the fierce struggles of party, and surrounded by those corrupting influences to which the politician is so often subjected, his personal character remained not only untarnished, but unsuspected. He walked through the flames, and even the hem of his garment was unscorched.

It is no part of my purpose to enter into a recital of the public acts of JOHN C. CALHOUN. It has already been partly done by his colleague; but, even that, in my judgment, was unnecessary. Years after the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ, a traveller, on visiting the spot, found a monument with the simple inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Lacedæmon, that we died in obedience to her laws." "Why is it," he asked, "that the names of those who fell here are not inscribed on the stone?" "Because," was the proud reply, "it is impossible that any Greek should ever forget them." Even so it is with him of whom I speak. His acts are graven on the hearts of his countrymen, and time has no power to obliterate the characters. Throughout this broad land

> "The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Rolls ming'ling with his fame forever."

Living, sir, in an age distinguished above all others for its intelligence, surrounded throughout his whole career by men, any one of whom would have marked an era in the world's history, and stamped the time in which he lived with immortality, Mr. CALHOUN yet won an intellectual eminence, and commanded an admiration not only unsurpassed but unequalled, in all its parts, by any of his giant compeers. That great light is now extinguished; a place in this Senate is made vacant which cannot be filled. The sad tidings have been borne upon the lightning's wing to the remotest corners of the Republic, and millions of freemen are now mourning with us over all that is left of one who was scarcely "lower than the angels."

I may be permitted, Mr. President, to express my gratification at what we have heard and witnessed this day. Kentucky has been heard through the lips of one who is not only her greatest statesman, but the world's greatest living orator. The great expounder of the constitution, whose massive intellect seems to comprehend and give clearness to all things beneath the sun, has spoken for the Commonwealth of Massa-

chusetts. From every quarter the voice of mourning is mingled with notes of the highest admiration. These crowded galleries, the distinguished gentlemen who fill this floor, all indicate that here have

> "Bards, artists, sages, reverently met,
> To waive each separating plea
> Of sect, clime, party, and degree,
> All honoring him on whom nature all honor shed."

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

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TUESDAY, April 2, 1850.

The remains of the deceased were brought into the Senate at 12 o'clock, attended by the Committee of Arrangements and the Pall-bearers.

*Committee of Arrangements.*

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| Mr. MASON, | Mr. DODGE, of Wisconsin, |
| Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi, | Mr. DICKINSON, |
| Mr. ATCHISON, | Mr. GREENE. |

*Pall-Bearers.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. MANGUM, | Mr. CASS, |
| Mr. CLAY, | Mr. KING, |
| Mr. WEBSTER, | Mr. BERRIEN. |

The funeral cortege left the Senate chamber for the Congressional Burial-Ground, where the body was temporarily deposited, in the following order:

The Chaplains of both Houses of Congress.
Physicians who attended the deceased.
Committee of Arrangements.
Pall-Bearers.
The family and friends of the deceased.
The Senator and Representatives from the State of South Carolina, as mourners.
The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate of the United States.
The Senate of the United States, preceded by the Vice President of the United States and their Secretary.
The Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives.
The House of Representatives, preceded by their Speaker and Clerk.
The President of the United States.

The Heads of Departments.
The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States and its officers.
The Diplomatic Corps.
Judges of the United States.
Officers of the Executive Departments.
Officers of the Army and Navy.
The Mayor and Councils of Washington.
Citizens and Strangers.

# BUTLER'S SERMON.

A Sermon preached in the Senate Chamber, April 2, 1850, at the Funeral of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Senator of the United States from South Carolina. By the Rev. C. M. Butler, D. D., Chaplain of the Senate.

I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.—Psalm lxxxii: 6-7.

One of the princes is fallen! A prince in intellect; a prince in his sway over human hearts and minds; a prince in the wealth of his own generous affections, and in the rich revenues of admiring love poured into his heart; a prince in the dignity of his demeanor—this prince has fallen—fallen!

And ye all, his friends and peers, illustrious statesmen, orators, and warriors—"I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like this one of the princes!"

The praises of the honored dead have been, here and elsewhere, fitly spoken. The beautifully blended benignity, dignity, simplicity and purity of the husband, the father, and the friend; the integrity, sagacity, and energy of the statesman; the compressed intenseness, the direct and rapid logic of the orator; all these have been vividly portrayed by those who themselves illustrate what they describe. There seem still to linger around this hall echoes of the voices which have so faithfully sketched the life, so happily discriminated the powers, and so affectionately eulogized the virtues of the departed, that the muse of history will note down the words, as the outline of her future lofty narrative, her nice analysis, and her glowing praise.

But the echo of those eulogies dies away. All that was mortal of their honored object lies here unconscious in the theatre of his glory. "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye,"—*there he lies!* that strong heart still, that bright eye dim! Another voice claims your ear. The minister of God, standing over the dead, is sent to say—"Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." He is sent to remind you that there are those here, not visible to the eye of sense, who are greater

than the greatest of ye all—even DEATH, and DEATH'S LORD AND MASTER.

Death is here. I see him stand over his prostrate victim, and grimly smile, and shake at us his unsated spear, and bid us all attend this day on him. He is King to-day, and leads us all captive in his train, to swell his triumph and proclaim his power. And there is no visitant that can stand before the soul of man, with such claims on his awed, intent, and teachable attention. When, as on a day, and in a scene like this, he holds us in his presence and bids us hear him—who can dare to disregard his mandate? Oh, there is no thought or fact, having reference to this brief scene of things, however it may come with a port and tone of dignity and power, which does not dwindle into meanness, in the presence of that great thought, that great fact, which has entered and darkened the Capitol to-day—DEATH! To make us see that by a law perfectly inevitable and irresistible, soul and body are soon to separate; that this busy scene of earth is to be suddenly and forever left; that this human heart is to break through the circle of warm, congenial, familiar and fostering sympathies and associations, and to put off, all alone, into the silent dark—this is the object of the dread message to us of death. And as that message is spoken to a soul which is conscious of sin; which knows that it has not within itself resources for self-purification, and self-sustaining peace and joy; which realizes, in the very core of its conscience, retribution as a moral law; it comes fraught with the unrest, which causes it to be at once dismissed, or which lodges it in the soul, a visitant whose first coming is gloom, but whose continued presence shall be glory. Then the anxious spirit, peering out with intense earnestness in the dark unknown, may, in vain, question earth of the destiny of the soul, and lift to heaven the passionate invocation:

"Answer me, burning stars of night,
Where hath the spirit gone;
Which, past the reach of mortal sight,
E'en as a breeze hath flown?"

And the stars answer him, "We roll
In pomp and power on high;
But of the never dying soul,
Ask things that cannot die!"

"Things that cannot die!" God only can tell us of the spirit-world. He assures us, by his Son, that death is the child of sin. He tells us what is the power of this king of terrors. He shows us that in sinning "Adam all die." He declares to us that, sinful by nature

and by practice, we are condemned to death; that we are consigned to woe; that we are unfit for Heaven; that the condition of the soul which remains thus condemned and unchanged, is far drearier and more dreadful beyond, than this side, the grave. No wonder that men shrink from converse with death; for all his messages are woful and appalling.

But, thanks be to God! though death be here, so also is death's Lord and Master. "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." That Saviour, Christ, assures us that all who repent, and forsake their sins, and believe in him, and live to him, shall rise to a life glorious and eternal, with Him, and His, in Heaven. He tells us that if we are his, those sharp shafts which death rattles in our ears to-day, shall but transfix, and only for a season, the garment of our mortality; and that the emancipated spirits of the righteous shall be borne, on angel wings, to that peaceful paradise where they shall enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Then it need not be a gloomy message which we deliver to you to-day, that "ye shall die as men and fall like one of the princes;" for it tells us that the humblest of men may be made equal to the angels, and that earth's princes may become "kings and priests unto God!"

In the presence of these simplest yet grandest truths; with these thoughts of death, and the conqueror of death; with this splendid trophy of his power proudly held up to our view by death, I need utter to you no common-place on the vanity of our mortal life, the inevitableness of its termination, and the solemnities of our after-being. Here and now, on this theme, the silent dead is preaching to you more impressively than could the most eloquent of the living. You feel now, in your inmost heart, that that great upper range of things with which you are connected as immortals; that moral administration of God, who stretches over the infinite of existence; that magnificent system of ordered governments, to whose lower circle we now belong, which consists of thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, which rise,

"Orb o'er orb, and height o'er height,"

to the enthroned Supreme; you feel that this, your high relation to the Infinite and Eternal, makes poor and low the most august and imposing scenes and dignities of earth, which flit, like shadows, through your three-score years and ten. Oh, happy will it be, if the vivid sentiment of the hour become the actuating conviction of the life! Happy will it be, if it take its place in the centre of the soul, and inform all its thoughts, feelings, principles, and aims! Then shall this lower system

of human things be consciously linked to, and become part of, and take glory from that spiritual sphere, which, all unseen, encloses us, whose actors and heroes are "angels and archangels, and all the company of Heaven." Then would that be permanently and habitually felt by all, which was here, and in the other chamber yesterday so eloquently expressed, that "vain are the personal strifes and party contests in which you daily engage, in view of the great account which you may all so soon be called upon to render;"* and that it is unbecoming and presumptuous in those who are "the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were your perpetual home."† Then, as we see to-day, the sister States, by their Representatives, linked hand in hand, in mournful attitude, around the bier of one in whose fame they all claim a share, we should look upon you as engaged in a sacrament of religious patriotism, whose spontaneous, unpremeditated vow, springing consentient from all your hearts, and going up unitedly to Heaven, would be—"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

But I must no longer detain you. May we all

> "So live, that when our summons comes to join
> The innumerable caravan, that moves
> To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
> His chamber in the silent halls of death,
> We go not like the quarry-slave at night
> Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
> By an unfaltering trust, approach our grave
> Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

* Mr. Winthrop's speech in the House of Representatives.
† Mr. Clay's speech in the Senate.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 3, 1850.

*Resolved*, As a mark of the respect entertained by the Senate for the memory of the late JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, a Senator from South Carolina, and for his long and distinguished service in the Public Councils, that his remains be moved at the pleasure of his surviving family, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and attended by a committee of the Senate, to the place designated for their interment, in the bosom of his native State; and that such committee, to consist of six Senators, be appointed by the President of the Senate, who shall have full power to carry the foregoing resolution into effect.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 4, 1850.

In pursuance of the foregoing resolution,

Mr. MASON,
Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi,
Mr. BERRIEN,
Mr. WEBSTER,
Mr. DICKINSON, and
Mr. DODGE, of Iowa,

were appointed the committee.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 9, 1850.

Mr. Webster having been, on his motion, excused from serving on the committee to attend the remains of the late JOHN C. CALHOUN to the State of South Carolina: On motion by Mr. Mason,

*Ordered*, That a member be appointed by the Vice President to supply the vacancy, and Mr. Clarke was appointed.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 3, 1850.

*Resolved*, That the Vice President be requested to communicate to the Executive of the State of South Carolina, information of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, late a Senator from the said State.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

SENATE CHAMBER,
April 3, 1850.

SIR: In pursuance of a resolution of the Senate, a copy of which is enclosed, it becomes my duty to communicate to you the painful intelligence of the decease of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, late a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina, who died in this city, the 31st ultimo.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
*Vice President of the United States, and*
*President of the Senate.*

*His Excellency,*
*Governor of the State of South Carolina, Columbia.*

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SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON CITY, April 4, 1850.

*To His Excellency, Whitemarsh B. Seabrook,*
*Governor of South Carolina.*

SIR: I have the honor to make known to you, that a committee of the Senate has been appointed to attend the remains of their late honored associate, Mr. CALHOUN, to the place that may be designated for his interment in his native State, when the surviving family shall express a wish for their removal.

It is desirable to the committee to know whether this removal is contemplated by them; and should it be, that they be informed as soon as may be (but entirely at the convenience of the family) *when* they may desire it.

Knowing the deep interest that will be taken by the State of South Carolina in the matter spoken of, I take the liberty, by this note, of asking that you will at proper time learn what may be necessary to answer the foregoing inquiry, and apprise me, as Chairman of the Committee, a few days in advance.

With great respect,
I have the honor to be,
&c. &c. &c.
J. M. MASON.

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1850.

*His Excellency, Whitemarsh B. Seabrook,*
*Governor of South Carolina.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., handed to me by Mr. Ravenel; and on behalf of my associates on the committee of the Senate and of myself, to accept the hospitalities you have kindly proffered to us on behalf of the State, on our arrival in South Carolina.

We are directed, by the order of the Senate, to attend the remains of Mr. CALHOUN "to the place designated for their interment in his native State"—a duty we expect strictly to discharge, and are gratified to find by your communication, that it will be in accordance with the wishes of your fellow citizens of Carolina.

Mr. Ravenel, of the committee of South Carolina, will have apprized you of the time of our probable arrival in Charleston, which we learn will be on Thursday, the 25th of this month.

With great respect,

I have the honor to be,

&c. &c. &c.

J. M. MASON, *Chair. Com. Senate.*

# PROCEEDINGS

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, April 1, 1850.

Mr. VINTON, rising, said that the House might soon expect to receive the usual message from the Senate, announcing the melancholy event occurring yesterday, (the death of the honorable Senator CALHOUN.) Instead of proceeding with the ordinary business of legislation, he would therefore move the suspension of the rules, that the House might take a recess until the Senate were ready to make that communication.

The question on this motion being put, it was unanimously agreed to.

So the House then took a recess until one o'clock and ten minutes, p. m., at which hour the Secretary of the Senate, Mr. Dickins, appearing at the bar,

The Speaker called the House to order.

The Secretary of the Senate then announced that he had been directed to communicate to the House information of the death of JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina, and delivered the resolutions adopted by the Senate on the occasion.

Mr. HOLMES, of South Carolina, rose and addressed the House as follows:

It becomes, Mr. Speaker, my solemn duty to announce to this House the decease of the honorable JOHN C. CALHOUN, a Senator of the State of South Carolina. He expired at his lodgings in this city yesterday morning, at seven o'clock. He lives no longer among the living; he sleeps the sleep of a long night which knows no dawning. The sun which rose so brightly on this morning, brought to him no healing in its beams.

We, the Representatives of our State, come to sorrow over the dead; but the virtue and the life and the services of the deceased, were not confined by metes and bounds; but standing on the broad expanse of this Confederacy, he gave his genius to the States, and his heart to his

entire country. Carolina will not, therefore, be suffered to mourn her honored son in secret cells and solitary shades; but her sister States will gather around her in this palace of the nation, and bending over that bier, weep as she weeps, and mourn with the deep, afflictive mourning of her heart. Yes, sir, her honored son—honored in the associations of his birth, which occurred when the echoes and the shouts of freedom had not yet died along his native hills, born of parents who had partaken of the toils, been affected by the struggles, and fought in the battles for liberty—seemed as if he were baptized in the very fount of freedom. Reared amid the hardy scenery of nature, and amid the stern, pious, and reserved population, unseduced yet by the temptations, and unnerved by the luxuries of life, he gathered from surrounding objects and from the people of his association, that peculiar hue and coloring which so transcendently marked his life. Unfettered by the restraints of the school house, he wandered in those regions which surrounded his dwelling, unmolested, and indulged those solitary thoughts, in rambling through her mighty forests, which gave that peculiar cast of thinking and reflection to his mighty soul. He was among a people who knew but few books, and over whose minds learning had not yet thrown its effulgence. But they had the Bible; and with his pious parents, he gathered rich lore, which surpasses that of Greek or Roman story. At an age when youths are generally prepared to scan the classics, he was yet uninitiated in their rudiments. Under the tuition of the venerable Doctor Waddel, his relative and friend, he quickly acquired what that gentleman was able to impart, and even then began to develop those mighty powers of clear perception, rapid analysis, quick comprehension, vast generalization, for which he was subsequently so eminently distinguished. He remained but a very short time at his school, and returned again to his rustic employments. But the spirit had been awakened—the inspiration had come like to a spirit from on high; and he felt that within him were found treasures that learning was essential to unfold. He gathered up his patrimony, he hastened to the College of Yale, and there, under the tuition of that accomplished scholar and profound theologian, Rev. Dr. Dwight, he became in a short period, the first among the foremost, indulging not in the enjoyments, in the luxuries, and the dissipations of a college life, but with toil severe, with energy unbending, with devotion to his studies, he became (to use the language of a contemporary) "a man among boys." In a conflict intellectual with his great master, the keen eye of Dr. Dwight discerned the great qualifications which marked the man, and prophesied the honors that have fallen in his pathway. He was solitary, and

associated not much with his class. He indulged his propensity to solitude; he walked among the elms that surround that ancient college; and in the cells, in the secret shades of that institution, he felt that dawning on his mind which was to precede the brighter and the greater day; and raising himself from the materiality around him, he soared on the wings of contemplation to heights sublime, and wending his flight along the zodiac, raised his head among the stars. The honors of the college became his meed, and departing thence with the blessings and the benedictions of his venerable instructor, he repaired for a short period to the school of Litchfield, and there imbibed those principles of the common law, based upon the rights of man, and throwing a cordon around the British and the American citizen. He left, and upon his return home was greeted by the glowing presence of his friends, who had heard from a distance the glad tidings of his studies and his success. He took at once his position among his neighbors. He was sent by them to the councils of the State; and there, amid the glittering array of lofty intellects and ennobled characters, he became first among the first.

But that sphere was too limited for the expansibility of a mind which seemed to know no limit but the good of all mankind. At the age of twenty-eight, he was transferred to this hall. He came not, sir, to a bower of ease; he came not in the moment of a sunshine of tranquillity; he came when the country was disturbed by dissension from within, and pressed out by the great powers of Europe, then contending for the mastery of the world, and uniting and harmonizing in this, and this alone—the destruction of American institutions, the annihilation of American trade. The whole country (boy as I then was, I well remember,) seemed as if covered with an eternal gloom. The spirits of the best men seemed crushed amid that pressure, and the eye of hope scarce found consolation in any prospect of the future. But he had not been long in these halls, before he took the guage and measurement of the depth of these calamities, and the compass of its breadth. He applied himself most vigorously to the application of the remedies to so vital a disease. He found that mistaken policy had added to the calamities on the ocean, that still further calamity of fettering, with a restrictive system, the very motions and energies of the people. He looked down and saw that there was a mighty pressure, a great weight upon the resources of this country, which time had gradually increased, and he resolved at once—with that resolution which characterized him—with that energy which impelled him direct to his purpose—to advise what was considered a remedy too great almost for

the advice of any other—once, weak as we were in numbers, unprepared as we were in arms, diminished as were our resources, to bid defiance to Britain, and assume the attitude of a conflicting nation for its rights.

Fortunately for the country that advice was taken, and then the great spirit of America, released from her shackles, burst up and made her leave her incumbent, prostrate condition, and stand erect before the people of the world, and shake her spear in bold defiance. In that war, his counsels contributed as much, I am informed, as those of any man, to its final success. At a period when our troops on the frontier, under the command of the Governor of New York, were about to retire from the line, and that Governor had written to Mr. Madison that he had exhausted his own credit, and the credit of all those whose resources he could command, and his means were exhausted, and, unless in a short period money was sent on to invigorate the troops, the war must end, and our country bow down to a victorious foe; sir, upon that occasion, Mr. Madison became so disheartened, that he assembled his counsellors, and asked for advice and aid, but advice and aid they had not to give. At length Mr. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury, said to Mr. Madison—you are sick; retire to your chamber; leave the rest to us. I will send to the Capitol for the youthful Hercules, who hitherto has borne the war upon his shoulders, and he will counsel us a remedy. Mr. CALHOUN came. He advised an appeal to the States for the loan of their credit. It seemed as if a new light had burst upon the Cabinet. His advice was taken. The States generously responded to the appeal. These were times of fearful import. We were engaged in war with a nation whose resources were ample, while ours were crippled. Our ships-of-war, few in number, were compelled to go forth on the broad bosom of the deep, to encounter those fleets which had signalized themselves at the battles of Aboukir and Trafalgar, and annihilated the combined navies of France and Spain. But there was an inward strength—there was an undying confidence—in the hearts of a free people; and they went forth to battle and to conquest.

Sir, the clang of arms and the shouts of victory had scarcely died along the dark waters of the Niagara—the war upon the plains of Orleans had just gone out with a blaze of glory—when all eyes were instinctively turned to this youthful patriot, who had rescued his country in the dark hour of her peril. Mr. Monroe transferred him to his Cabinet; and upon that occasion, so confused was the Department of War, so complicated and disordered, that Mr. Wm. Lowndes, a friend to Mr. CALHOUN, advised him against risking the high honors

he had achieved upon this floor, for the uncertain victories of an Executive position. But no man had pondered more thoroughly the depths of his own mind and the purposes of his own heart—none knew so well the undaunted resolution and energy that always characterized him; and he resolved to accept, and did. He related to me what was extremely characteristic; he went into the Department, but became not of it for awhile. He gave no directions—he let the machinery move on by its own impetus. In the meantime he gathered, with that minuteness which characterized him, all the facts connected with the working of the machinery—with that power of generalization which was so remarkable, combined together in one system all the detached parts, instituted the bureaus, imparting individual responsibility to each, and requiring from them that responsibility in turn, but uniting them all in beautiful harmony, and creating in the workings a perfect unity. And so complete did that work come from his hands, that at this time there has been no change material in this department. It has passed through the ordeal of another war, and it still remains fresh, and without symptoms of decay. He knew that if we were to have wars, we should have the science to conduct them; and he therefore directed his attention to West Point, which, fostered by his care, became the great school of tactics and of military discipline, the benefits of which have so lately been experienced in the Mexican campaign.

But, sir, having finished this work, his mind instinctively looked for some other great object on which to exercise its powers. He beheld the Indian tribes, broken down by the pressure and the advances of civilization, wasting away before the vices, and acquiring none of the virtues, of the white man. His heart expanded with a philanthropy as extensive as the human race. He immediately conceived the project of collecting them into one nation, of transferring them to the other side of the great river, and freeing them at once from the temptations and the cupidity of the Christian man.

Sir, he did not remain in office to accomplish this great object. But he had laid its foundation so deep, he had spread out his plans so broad, that he has reared to himself, in the establishment of that people, a brighter monument, more glorious trophies, than can be plucked upon the plains of war. The triumphs of war are marked by desolated towns and conflagrated fields; his triumphs will be seen in the collection of the Indian tribes, constituting a confederation among themselves, in the school-houses in the valleys, in the churches that rise with their spires from the hill-top, in the clear sunshine of Heaven.

The music of that triumph is not heard in the clangor of the trumpet, and the rolling of the drum, but swells from the clang of the anvil, and the tones of the water-wheel, and the cadence of the mill-stream, that rolls down for the benefit of the poor red man.

Sir, he paused not in his career of usefulness; he was transferred, by the votes of a grateful people, to the chair of the second office of the government. There he presided with a firmness, an impartiality, with a gentleness, with a dignity, that all admired. And yet it is not given unto man to pass unscathed the fiery furnace of this world. While presiding over that body of ambassadors from sovereign States, while regulating their councils, the tongue of calumny assailed him, and accused him of official corruption in the Riprap contract. Indignantly he left the chair, demanded of the Senators an immediate investigation by a committee, and came out of the fire like gold refined in the furnace. From that time to the day that terminated his life, no man dared to breathe aught against the spotless purity of his character.

But while in that chair, Mr. CALHOUN perceived that there was arising a great and mighty influence to overshadow a portion of this land. From a patriotic devotion to his country, he consented on this floor, in 1816, upon the reduction of the war duties, to a gradual diminution of the burdens, and thus saved the manufacturers from annihilation. But that interest, then a mere stripling, weak, and requiring nurture, fostered by this aliment, soon increased in strength, and became potent, growing with a giant's growth, and attained a giant's might, and was inclined tyrannously to use it as a giant. He at once resigned his seat, gave up his dignified position, mingled in the strifes of the arena, sounded the tocsin of alarm, waked up the attention of the South, himself no less active than those whom he thus aroused, and at length advised his own State, heedless of danger, to throw herself into the breach for the protection of that sacred Constitution, whose every precept he had imbibed, whose every condition he had admired. Sir, although hostile fleets floated in our waters, and armies threatened our cities, he quailed not; and at length the pleasing realization came to him and to the country, like balm to the wounded feelings, and by a generous compromise on all parts, the people of the South were freed from onerous taxation, and the North yet left to enjoy the fruits of her industry, and to progress in her glorious advancement in all that is virtuous in industry and elevated in sentiment.

But he limited not his scope to our domestic horizon. He looked abroad at our relations with the nations. He saw our increase of strength. He measured our resources, and was willing at once to settle

all our difficulties with foreign powers on a permanent basis. With Britain we had causes of contention, of deep and long standing. He resolved, if the powers of his intellect could avail ought before he departed hence, that these questions should be settled for a nation's honor and a nation's safety. He faltered not. I know (for I was present) that when the Ashburton treaty was about to be made—when there were apprehensions in the cabinet that it would not be sanctioned by the Senate—a member of that cabinet called to consult Mr. CALHOUN, and to ask if he would give it his generous support. The reply of Mr. CALHOUN at that moment was eminently satisfactory, and its annunciation to the cabinet gave assurance to the distinguished Secretary of State, who so eminently had conducted this important negotiation. He at once considered the work as finished; for it is the union of action in the intellectual, as in the physical world, that moves the spheres into harmony.

When the treaty was before the Senate, it was considered in secret session; and I never shall forget, that sitting upon yonder side of the House, the colleague of Mr. CALHOUN—who at that time was not on social terms with him—my friend, the honorable Mr. Preston, whose heart throbbed with an enthusiastic love of all that is elevated—left his seat in the Senate, and came to my seat in the House, saying "I must give vent to my feelings: Mr. CALHOUN has made a speech which has settled the question of the Northeastern boundary. All his friends—nay, all the Senators—have collected around to congratulate him, and I have come out to express my emotions, and declare that he has covered himself with a mantle of glory."

Sir, after a while, he retired from Congress; but the unfortunate accident on board the Princeton, which deprived Virginia of two of her most gifted sons, members of the cabinet, immediately suggested the recall of Mr. CALHOUN from his retirement in private life, and the shades of his own domicil, to aid the country in a great exigency. His nomination as Secretary of State was sent to the Senate, and, without reference to a committee, was unanimously confirmed. Sir, when he arrived here, he perceived that the Southern country was in imminent peril, and that the arts and intrigues of Great Britain were about to wrest from us that imperial territory which is now the State of Texas. By his wisdom, and the exercise of his great administrative talents, the intrigues of Great Britain were defeated, and that portion of the sunny South was soon annexed to this Republic.

With the commencement of Mr. Polk's administration, he retired once more from public life, but he retired voluntarily. Mr. Buchanan

(for I might as well relate the fact) called upon me, took me to the embrasure of one of those windows, and said: "I am to be Secretary of State; the President appreciates the high talents of Mr. CALHOUN, and considers the country now encircled by danger upon the Oregon question. Go to Mr. CALHOUN, and tender to him the mission to the Court of St. James—special or general, as he may determine—with a transfer of the Oregon question entirely to his charge."

Never can I forget how the muscles of his face became tense, how his great eye rolled, as he received the terms of the proposal. "No, sir—no, (he replied.) If the embassies of all Europe were clustered into one, I would not take it at this time; my country is in danger; here ought to be the negotiation, and here will I stand." Sir, he retired to his farm; but the President in his inaugural, had indicated so strongly his assertion of the entirety of the Oregon treaty; had inspirited the people of the West almost to madness, and in like manner had dispirited the merchants of the East, and of the North and South, that a presentiment of great dangers stole over the hearts of the people, and a war seemed inevitable, with the greatest naval power of the earth. Impelled by their apprehensions, the merchants sent a message to Mr. CALHOUN, and begged him again to return to the councils of the nation. His predecessor generously resigned. He came, and when he came, though late, he beheld dismay on the countenances of all. There was a triumphant majority in both parts of this Capitol of the Democratic party, who, with a few exceptions, were for carrying out the measures of Mr. Polk. The Whigs, finding that they were too few to stem the current, refused to breast themselves to the shock. But when Mr. CALHOUN announced on the floor of the Senate, the day after his arrival, his firm determination to resist and save from the madness of the hour, this great country, they immediately rallied, and soon his friends in this House and in the Senate gathered around him, and the country was safe. Reason triumphed, and the republic was relieved of the calamities of a war. This was the last great work he ever consummated.

But he saw other evils; he beheld this republic about to lose its poise from a derangement of its weights and levers; he was anxious to adjust the balance, and to restore the equilibrium; he exercised his mind for that purpose; he loved this Union, for I have often heard him breathe out that love; he loved the equality of the States, because he knew that upon that equality rested the stability of the government; he admired that compact—the Constitution of our fathers—and esteemed it as a great covenant between sovereign States, which if properly observed, would make us the chosen people of the world.

At length the acting of the spirit chafed the frail tenement of mortality, and to the eye of his friends, the tide of life began to ebb; but, sir, with an undying confidence in his powers—with a consciousness of the dangers which encircled his physical nature, but without regard to his own sufferings, in the solitudes of disease, unable in the midst of disease even to hold a pen, he dictated his last great speech. That speech has gone forth to the world, and the judgment of that world will now impartially be stamped upon it.

Sir, when his health began gradually to recover, his spirit impelled him, against the advice of his friends, into the Senate Chamber; and there, with a manliness of purpose, with a decision of tone, with a clearness of argument, with a rapidity of thought, he met and overthrew his antagonists one by one, as they came up to the attack. But weakened by the strife, although he retired victorious and encircled with a laurel wreath, he fell exhausted by his own efforts, and soon expired on the plains. And now where is he? Dead, dead, sir; lost to his country and his friends.

> "For him no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
> Nor wife nor children more shall he behold,"

nor sacred home. But he shall shortly rest amid his own native hills, with no dirge but the rude music of the winds, and after awhile, no tears to moisten his grave but the dews of Heaven.

But though dead, he still liveth; he liveth in the hearts of his friends, in the memory of his services, in the respect of the States, in the affections, the devoted affections, of that house-hold he cherished. He will live in the tomes of time, as they shall unfold their pages, rich with virtues, to the eyes of the yet unborn. He lives, and will continue to live, for countless ages, in the advance of that science to which, by his intellect, he so much contributed, in the disinthrallment of man from the restrictions of government, in the freedom of intercourse of nations, and kindreds, and tongues, which makes our common mother earth throw from her lap her bounteous plenty unto all children. And it may be, that with the example set to other nations, there shall arise a union of thought and sentiment, and that the strong ties of interest, and the silken cords of love, may unite the hearts of all, until from the continents and the isles of the sea, there will come up the gratulations of voices, that shall mingle with the choral song of the angelic host—"Peace on earth; good will to all mankind."

with which he was so peculiarly identified, no stranger tongue may venture to attempt words of adequate consolation. But let us hope that the event may not be without a wholesome and healing influence upon the troubles of the times. Let us heed the voice, which comes to us all, both as individuals and as public officers, in so solemn and signal a providence of God. Let us remember that, whatever happens to the Republic, we must die! Let us reflect how vain are the personal strifes and partisan contests in which we daily engage, in view of the great account which we may so soon be called on to render! As Cicero exclaimed, in considering the death of Crassus: "*O fallacem hominum spem, fragilem que fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones.*"

Finally, sir, let us find fresh bonds of brotherhood and of union in the cherished memories of those who have gone before us; and let us resolve that, so far as in us lies, the day shall never come when New England men may not speak of the great names of the South, whether among the dead or among the living, as of Americans and fellow-countrymen!

Mr. VENABLE rose and said: Mr. Speaker, in responding to the announcement just made by the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Holmes,) I perform a sad and melancholy office. Did I consult my feelings alone, I would be silent. In the other end of this building we have just heard the touching eloquence of two venerable and distinguished Senators, his cotemporaries and compatriots. Their names belong to their country as well as his; and I thought, while each was speaking, of the valiant warrior, clothed in armor, who, when passing the grave of one with whom he had broken lances and crossed weapons, dropped a tear upon his dust, and gave testimony to his skill, his valor, and his honor. He whose spirit has fled needs no effort of mine to place his name on the bright page of history, nor would any eulogy which I might pronounce swell the vast tide of praises which will flow perennially from a nation's gratitude. The great American statesman who has fallen by the stroke of death, has left the impress of his mind upon the generations among whom he lived—has given to posterity the mines of his recorded thoughts to reward their labor with intellectual wealth—has left an example of purity and patriotism on which the wearied eye may rest,

> "And gaze upon the great,
> Where neither guilty glory glows,
> Nor despicable state."

For more than forty years his name is conspicuous in our history. Born at the close of the revolutionary war, he was in full maturity to guide the councils of his country in our second contest with England. Never unmindful of her claims upon him, he has devoted a long life to her service, and has closed it, like a gallant warrior, with his armor buckled on him. "Death made no conquest of this conqueror; for now he lives in fame, though not in life." The only fame, sir, which he ever coveted—an impulse to great and honorable deeds—a fame which none can despise who have not renounced the virtues which deserve it. It is at least some relief to our hearts, now heaving with sighs at this dispensation of Heaven, that he now belongs to bright, to enduring history; for his was one of "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." Of his early history the gentleman who preceded me has spoken; of his illustrious life, I need not speak; it is known to millions now living, and will be familiar to the world in after times.

But, sir, I propose to say something of him in his last days. Early in the winter of 1848–'9 his failing health gave uneasiness to his friends. A severe attack of bronchitis, complicated with an affection of the heart, disqualified him for the performance of his senatorial duties with the punctuality which always distinguished him. It was then that I became intimately acquainted with his mind, and, above all, with his heart. Watching by his bedside, and during his recovery, I ceased to be astonished at the power which his master-mind and elevated moral feelings had always exerted upon those who were included within the circle of his social intercourse. It was a tribute paid spontaneously to wisdom, genius, truth. Patriotism, honesty of purpose, and purity of motive, rendered active by the energies of such an intellect as hardly ever falls to any man, gathered around him sincere admirers and devoted friends. That many have failed to appreciate the value of the great truths which he uttered, or to listen to the warnings which he gave, is nothing new in the history of great minds. Bacon wrote for posterity, and men of profound sagacity always think in advance of their generation. His body was sinking under the invasion of disease before I formed his acquaintance, and he was passing from among us before I was honored with his friendship. I witnessed with astonishment the influence of his mighty mind over his weak physical structure. Like a powerful steam engine on a frail bark, every revolution of the wheel tried its capacity for endurance to the utmost. But yet his mind moved on, and, as if insensible to the decay of bodily strength, put forth, without stint, his unequalled powers of thought and analysis, until nature well-nigh sunk under the imposition. His intel-

lect preserved its vigor while his body was sinking to decay. The menstruum retained its powers of solution, while the frail crucible which contained it was crumbling to atoms. During his late illness, which, with a short intermission, has continued since the commencement of this session of Congress, there was no abatement of his intellectual labors. They were directed as well to the momentous questions now agitating the public mind, as to the completion of a work which embodies his thoughts on the subject of government in general and our own Constitution in particular; thus distinguishing his last days by the greatest effort of his mind, and bequeathing it as his richest legacy to posterity.

Cheerful in a sick chamber, none of the gloom which usually attends the progress of disease annoyed him; severe in ascertaining the truth of conclusions, because unwilling to be deceived himself, he scorned to deceive others; skilful in appreciating the past, and impartial in his judgment of the present, he looked to the future as dependent on existing causes, and fearlessly gave utterance to his opinions of its nature and character; the philosopher and the statesman, he discarded expedients by which men "construe the times to their necessities." He loved the truth for the truth's sake, and believed that to temporize is but to increase the evil which we seek to remove. The approach of death brought no indication of impatience—no cloud upon his intellect. To a friend who spoke of the time and manner in which it was best to meet death, he remarked: "I have but little concern about either; I desire to die in the discharge of my duty; I have an unshaken reliance upon the providence of God."

I saw him four days after his last appearance in the Senate chamber, gradually sinking under the power of his malady, without one murmur at his affliction, always anxious for the interest of his country, deeply absorbed in the great question which agitates the public mind, and earnestly desiring its honorable adjustment, unchanged in the opinions which he had held and uttered for many years, the ardent friend of the Union and the Constitution, and seeking the perpetuity of our institutions, by inculcating the practice of justice and the duties of patriotism.

Aggravated symptoms, on the day before his death, gave notice of his approaching end. I left him late at night, with but faint hopes of amendment; and, on being summoned early the next morning, I found him sinking in the cold embrace of death; calm, collected, and conscious of his situation, but without any symptom of alarm, his face beaming with intelligence, without one indication of suffering or of pain. I watched his countenance, and the lustre of that bright eye

remained unchanged, until the silver cord was broken, and then it went out in instantaneous eclipse. When I removed my hand from closing his eyes he seemed as one who had fallen into a sweet and refreshing slumber. Thus, sir, closed the days of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the illustrious American statesman. His life and services shall speak of the greatness of by-gone days with undying testimony. Another jewel has fallen from our crown; an inscrutable Providence has removed from among us one of the great lights of the age. But it is not extinguished. From a height to which the shafts of malice or the darts of detraction never reach, to which envy cannot crawl, or jealousy approach, it will shine brighter and more gloriously, sending its rays over a more extended horizon, and blessing mankind by its illumination. The friend of constitutional liberty will go to his writings for truth, and to his life for a model. We, too, should be instructed by his experience, while his presages for the future should infuse caution into our counsels, and prudence into our actions. His voice, now no more heard in the Senate, will speak most potentially from the grave. Personal opposition has died with his death. The aspiring cannot fear him, nor the ambitious dread his elevation. His life has become history, and his thoughts the property of his countrymen.

Sir, while we weep over his grave, let us be consoled by the assurance that "honor decks the turf that wraps his clay." He was our own, and his fame is also ours. Let us imitate his great example, in preferring truth and duty to the approbation of men, or the triumphs of party. Be willing to stand alone for the right, nor surrender independence for any inducement. He was brought up in the society of the men of the Revolution, saw the work of our Constitution since its formation, was profoundly skilled in construing its meaning, and sought by his wisdom and integrity to give permanency to the Government which it created. If such high purposes be ours, then our sun, like his, will go down serenely, and we shall have secured "a peace above all earthly dignities, a still and quiet conscience."

The question was then taken on the resolutions offered by Mr. Holmes, and they were unanimously agreed to.

And thereupon the House adjourned.

# REPORT

## OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

CHARLESTON, May 24, 1850.

*His Excellency, Whitemarsh B. Seabrook,*
*Governor of the State of South Carolina.*

DEAR SIR: I have received your Excellency's note of the 29th ultimo, addressed to me, as Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-five, on the removal of the remains of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN; and desiring of me, "as early as my convenience may permit, a narrative of the occurrences on the way, from the day of our leaving Charleston, to the time when the body was surrendered to you."

Your note has been laid before the committee, and, with their concurrence, the following report is respectfully submitted.

The committee was appointed by your Excelleney, under the second resolution of the meeting held in this city, on the evening of the 2d ultimo, to give expression to the public sorrow, on the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN. We were desired "to proceed to Washington, to procure and bring home his remains, and to co-operate in all other measures for their final disposition."

On the 5th ult., the day the committee met to organize, our newspapers announced the appointment, by the Senate of the United States, of a committee of six members of that distinguished body, to take charge of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN, and to attend them to their final resting place in his native State. This high honor modified the duty which had been assigned to us. It had become the office of the Senators, to convey and deliver the remains; ours, in manifestation of the respect of our people, to attend them as mourners.

A general understanding in reference to the melancholy duty to be performed, was held by correspondence, between the Hon. James M. Mason, the chairman of the committee of the Senate, and the chairman of this committee; and, under a resolution of the latter, three of our number were requested to proceed to Washington, to confer with the committee of the Senate, and keep our authorities and committee at home advised of their arrangements. The chairman being one of this

sub-committee, H. A. DeSaussure, Esq., was appointed chairman *pro tempore* of the committee of twenty-five.

The departure of the sub-committee, however, was to be deferred until Mrs. Calhoun should have been consulted, and her desires ascertained respecting the removal and ultimate disposition of the remains. This object having been effected, and her acquiescence in the measures proposed by your Excellency received, the sub-committee, consisting of the chairman, and Messrs. A. Huger and C. G. Memminger, proceeded to Washington, and arrived there on the 13th and 14th April.

Mr. Mason, the chairman of the Senate's committee, had been called by business from Washington. He returned on the 15th, and on the next morning his committee met, and appointed Monday, the 22d April, as the day of departure with their solemn charge. Communications by telegraph to the committee, through Mr. DeSaussure, the chairman *pro tem.*, gave information of this arrangement, and of our expectation that the cortege would arrive in Charleston on Thursday morning, the 25th April.

On the arrival of the sub-committee in Washington, they found all the public buildings draped with emblems of mourning, by order of the President of the United States; and their reception by the committee of the Senate, and by other distinguished citizens, manifested the deep interest felt in the purpose of their visit.

On the morning of the 16th April, Robert Beale, Esq., Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, called on the sub-committee by direction of the committee of the Senate, to express their desire that we should consider ourselves guests, during our stay in Washington; informed us that apartments had been provided for our accommodation, and requested us to appoint an hour to receive the committee, who would call and conduct us to the hotel they had selected. We accordingly named an hour, at which they called with carriages, and conducted us to the City Hotel, introduced us to a private parlour and comfortable rooms, informed us that instructions had been given to meet our directions in all respects, and that a carriage would be in waiting subject to our orders.

The invitation was extended to our associates of the committee of twenty-five, to consider themselves guests on their arrival, with information that like arrangements would be made for their comfort and convenience.

Of the twenty-five gentlemen originally named on the committee, four were deprived, by circumstances, of the privilege of uniting in the duties of our appointment, viz: Messrs. Henry W. Conner, Arthur P. Hayne, A. G. Magrath and James Gadsden; and, in their stead,

Messrs. George S. Bryan, Matthew I. Keith, P. H. Seabrook and J. E. Leland, joined us by your Excellency's request.

Twenty members of the committee arrived in Washington on Saturday, the 20th April, and were met at the landing by the Sergeant-at-Arms with carriages, and conducted to the lodgings provided for them. These gentlemen had been expected on the previous day, and the Sergeant-at-Arms was at the landing to receive them. But their passage from Charleston had been boisterous, and they arrived at Wilmington after the cars had left it. It thus became necessary for them to remain in Wilmington till the next day. They were immediately requested to consider themselves the guests of the city; and enjoyed the kindest attentions from the authorities and citizens. These attentions were acknowledged by the committee, in resolutions adopted at Wilmington, and communicated by Mr. DeSaussure, the chairman *pro tem.*

All of our committee were now in Washington, excepting two, the Hon. Wm. Aiken, who was unexpectedly detained, and John E. Carew, Esq., who accompanied his colleagues as far as Richmond, where he received information by telegraph of the sudden illness of his father, which obliged him to return.

We were joined on our way homeward, at Wilmington, by Mr. Aiken, and at the wharf in Charleston, by Mr. Carew. Our number therefore was complete during the ceremonies in Charleston.

Two of the sons of Mr. CALHOUN, Mr. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, and Maj. Patrick Calhoun, of the United States Army, accompanied the committee of twenty-five from Charleston to Washington, and were received by the committee of the Senate as guests. Their presence at all the ceremonies incident to our mournful duty, deepened their solemnity.

To the Sergeant-at-Arms, the immediate charge of the remains, from the vault in Washington to their delivery in South Carolina, had been committed by the Senators. To six respectable attendants, selected by him, had been assigned the duty of bearing them whenever removed during the journey. The remains were enclosed in an iron coffin, furnished with six handles, which rendered the transfer from one conveyance to another, safe and convenient.

In accordance with a programme issued by the Hon. Chairman of the Senate committee, the remains were brought to the eastern front of the Capitol at 8 o'clock, on Monday morning, the 22d April, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms and his attendants, all in full suits of black. The committee of the Senate, with the two sons of the deceased, the Hon. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, and the Hon. Mr. Holmes, of South

Carolina, Members of the House of Representatives, invited by the Senate's committee to join the escort; the committee of South Carolina, and many distinguished citizens, were in attendance. These, in a long train of carriages, followed the hearse in slow procession from the steps of the Capitol, along the south side of Capitol Hill and down the Maryland Avenue, and thence to the wharf on the Potomac, where the steamer Baltimore awaited us. The steamer bore appropriate insignia of the melancholy service she was to perform, both the exterior and interior being shrouded in mourning. The body was carried on board and placed in the upper saloon, which had been prepared for its reception, and for the accommodation of the committees and friends.

Immediately after this, the corpse of a young gentleman recently appointed a Cadet at West Point, a son of the Hon. H. W. Hilliard, of Alabama, a member of the House of Representatives, was brought in and placed by that of Mr. CALHOUN. The afflicted parents were in attendance, and a general sympathy with their deep private grief was added to the public sorrow.

We were now ready to leave the city of Washington. Of the committee of the Senate, five were present, viz: the Hon. James M. Mason, of Virginia, Chairman: the Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, the Hon. John H. Clarke, of Rhode Island, the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and the Hon. Augustus C. Dodge, of Iowa. The Hon. John M. Berrien, of Georgia, had been called to Savannah by the illness of a member of his family, but we are gratified to say, that he was enabled to meet his colleagues on their arrival in Charleston, and there to unite with them in the solemnities of the occasion.

Among the attendants on the solemn offices just commenced, were the Hon. William Seaton, the Mayor of Washington, and Lieut. Thomas B. Huger, of South Carolina, appointed by Commodore Parker, of the Home Squadron, in expression of his respect, to accompany the remains as his flag officer. These gentlemen attended us officially to the landing on the territory of Virginia. Mr. Clarke Mills, the artist, of this city, now employed at Washington in completing the equestrian statue of Jackson, accompanied the committee of South Carolina by invitation. The public are indebted to Mr. Mills for having prepared himself for perpetuating not only the head and countenance of Mr. CALHOUN, but his manly form. A study of his manner in the Senate and in private, with other advantages which he has secured, will enable him to apply his genius to a representation in statuary of this distinguished son of Carolina, of which we may confidently anticipate the highest value.

The Hon. Mr. Webster, one of the six Senators first appointed on the

committee of that body, who found it necessary to ask to be excused from the duty which the appointment involved, was nevertheless desirous of paying a last tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. CALHOUN, by accompanying us to the landing in Virginia. The state of his health preventing him, it is due to the occasion to transmit with this report his two notes, communicating his intention, and his reasons for relinquishing it.

Crowds of persons had collected to witness the mournful departure; but an unbroken silence prevailed as our boat moved from her moorings.

On approaching Alexandria, we found the flags of the shipping, and flags displayed from the public buildings, at half mast, and in mourning. No incident of special interest occurred on our further progress down the Potomac, except the passing of Mount Vernon. As we drew near, the speed of our boat was moderated. Moving slowly on, we paused, as it were, in silent respect.

Mount Vernon belongs to history. It commands the attention of every traveller. It associates, throughout the world, the dignity of worth in private life with all that is rational in civil liberty, with all that is wise in government, with all that is pure in the service of country. To us it is sacred ground, impressing every mind with awe; filling every heart with gratitude—an unseen presence is there; and no unhallowed thought finds place. Every packet that passes tolls its bell in honor of the Father of his Country. On this occasion, the customary answer of the heart was wrought into high emotion. We bore what was mortal of one illustrious man, by all that is mortal of the great type of illustrious men. No bosom was unmoved; scarcely an eye was tearless. "Deep called unto deep," as the muffled knell of our boat paid its passing tribute.

Arrived at Acquia Creek, we found in readiness a special train, provided by the Richmond and Acquia Creek Railroad Company; and deputations of distinguished citizens from Richmond and from Fredericksburg, together with a military escort from the latter city, awaiting our arrival. The deputation from Fredericksburg were a joint committee of officers of the corporation and citizens, and consisted of the Hon. R. B. Semple, Mayor, B. S. Herndon, Recorder, John Minor, member of Council, Thomas B. Barton, Commonwealth's Attorney, John J. Chew, Clerk, and Col. Hugh Mercer and Eustace Conway, Esq., citizens. The military escort consisted of the Fredericksburg Guards, under command of Captain Wm. S. Barton.

The deputation from Richmond were the Hon. John Y. Mason, J. Lyons, G. A. Myers, and Wm. F. Ritchie, Esquires; and were accom-

panied by Edward Robinson, Esq., the President of the Richmond and Acquia Railroad Company.

The remains were landed on the shores of Virginia, and received with honors by the deputations and by the military. During a solemn dirge by the Band of the Fredericksburg Guards, the remains were conveyed to a car prepared for them, and for the special attendants. The committees of the Senate and of South Carolina, the Sons, and others in attendance with the deputations, were conducted to another car; and the Fredericksburg Guards preceeded them in a third. Our approach to Fredericksburg was announced by minute guns—our passage by the city honored by the tolling of bells and solemn music. We stopped a short time to interchange courtesies with the citizens, when we proceeded to Milford, at which place we were invited to partake of a collation, and here the deputation from Fredericksburg took leave of us. Resuming our journey, we arrived at Richmond at half-past 4 o'clock, P. M., and were met at the boundary of the city by marshals on horseback, and by assemblages which indicated a reception of no ordinary character. Military and civic honors, public and private tributes, were harmoniously combined. A hearse, prepared for the occasion, with solemn decorations, and drawn by four black horses appropriately clad, each led by a groom in mourning; a splendid military escort; a large procession of citizens; and an array of equipages, to receive the committee, deputations and public officers, were the manifestations of the general desire in the capital of Virginia to honor the departed, and to show respect to those who accompanied his remains. The silence was not once broken by the immense throng of spectators. The stores and places of business were closed—the bells were tolled—the procession moved onward to mournful dirges until it reached the Capitol. Here the military were placed in open order, and the body, borne by the attendants, the several committees and deputations, the Governor, public officers, and citizens uncovered, passed through them, entered the Capitol, and were conducted to the hall of the House of Delegates, where the remains were deposited for the night, under a military guard, appointed by his Excellency, Gov. Floyd. The solemnity was closed by a short address and prayer from the Rev. Stephen Taylor. This simple, touching ceremony over, the committees and their friends were conducted in carriages to apartments provided for us at the Exchange Hotel, as the guests of the city; at half past 7 o'clock, the escort (with the exception of the sons of Mr. CALHOUN, to whom a private parlor had been assigned) were conducted to dinner. The Hon. John Y. Mason, the chairman of the committee of citizens, presided, assisted by J. Lyons, Esq. His Excellency the

Governor and Council, the Mayor and City Council of Richmond, and the gentlemen composing the deputations from other parts of the State, being present. After dinner, Judge Mason rose, and delicately intimating his unwillingness, under the circumstances which had brought us together, to encroach upon the liberty of their guests to retire at pleasure, addressed the meeting as follows, viz:

"The gentlemen, whom it is our happiness to entertain as the honored guests of the city of Richmond, are engaged in the melancholy duty of conveying the lifeless remains of an illustrious citizen from the scene of his public service, where he has fallen in the discharge of his duty, to their final resting place, in the bosom of his native State. On this mournful occasion, the interchange of sentiment common in festive entertainments, would not be appropriate; but before we separate, there is one sentiment which I venture to propose—a sentiment to which the people of Virginia would cordially respond, and in which, I am sure, all present will take pleasure in uniting.

"Honored be the memory of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the beloved and lamented son of South Carolina; a son worthy of the utmost love of an adoring mother."

The delicate compliment of the Chairman to the guests, and the respect to our State and her lamented son, expressed in the sentiment, were acknowledged by the Chairman of the committee, in a reply, to the following effect, viz:

"Mr. CHAIRMAN: You have said rightly, that the present is not an occasion for the interchange of sentiment common to festive entertainments. We have met under mournful circumstances. But the sentiment you have been pleased to offer, accords with the solemnity of the occasion; and an acknowledgment in the same spirit, will not be deemed inappropriate. Indeed, I should fail to do justice to my own feelings, and, I am very sure, to the feelings of my colleagues, were I not to embrace the opportunity, to express our deep sense of the respect shown to our State and to her lamented dead, not only in the sentiment just offered, and in its reception, but in the impressive ceremonies through which we have this day passed. It is impossible, sir, to dissociate them. They came together, and fill our hearts. Allow me, then, for these noble and generous tributes, to tender our cordial thanks.

"Our whole country has made its offerings of honor to the departed; and we would not indicate any insidious distinction among these spontaneous expressions of public feeling. They are all acceptable; all valued. But under circumstances like the present, I may be permitted,

without the risk of such an imputation, to ask from what quarter of our wide-spread country, can sympathy and honor be more gratifying, than from the Commonwealth of Virginia? Virginia, the eldest in this sisterhood of States! Virginia, nurtured in the principles of a sound, rational, regulated liberty! Virginia, which has at all times furnished so ample a contingent of talent and worth to the service of our common country! Virginia, whose soil entombs the Father of his Country! Associations such as these, impart their character to her tributes, and add to the power and comfort of her sympathy.

"I have said, Mr. Chairman, that the soil of your State entombs the Father of his Country. This privilege has conferred upon her a distinction which all lands would be proud to possess. But let me add, in reference to a sentiment I am about to propose, that she enjoys a higher and nobler distinction—*she educated Washington.* Washington was a Providential man; reared up by God for Providential purposes; purposes not confined to one country, but comprehending in their results the civil interests of the world; not limited to the age, but destined to influence ages to come. And Washington was the son of Virginia. Born and nurtured within her borders, his character was formed, and his mind developed under her influences. He derived from her, and gave to her, his first energies. It was through her confidence, and in her service, that he was prepared for his more enlarged relations; for his high destiny; his great mission. In accordance with these views, Mr. Chairman, I offer, "The land that nurtured Washington."

Both sentiments were drunk standing, and in silence; and after the last, the company retired.

The two committees and their friends enjoyed every possible comfort and attention at the hotel; and in accordance with arrangements for resuming our journey, we were conducted in carriages at 10 o'clock, on Tuesday morning, to the Capitol. Gov. Floyd was present, to receive us, and to re-deliver to the committee of the Senate the charge he had taken for the night. On this occasion His Excellency made the following address, viz:

"*Gentlemen of the Committees of Congress,*
*and of Citizens of South Carolina:*

"I deliver to your hands the precious charge which, as the Governor of Virginia, was deposited with me for the night. Virginia has performed the last sad office within her power of reverence and respect to the remains of the honored dead. And I can say for her citizens, that no sad and sorrowful duty could have been executed by them with a more melancholy interest.

"The spontaneous outpouring of our population, which you witnessed yesterday, is but a slight manifestation of the exalted admiration which beats strong in the bosom of the Commonwealth for the virtues and the genius of the departed statesman.

"His virtues were enough to redeem this generation; his genius sufficiently great to enrich the empire. But this is not the time for eulogy. In your sorrows and bereavement we offer you all we have, and all you can receive, our deep and heart-felt sympathy. Virginia will mingle freely her tears with those of Carolina over the fresh earth which is so shortly to cover all that can ever perish of the illustrious dead.

"I take a mournful pleasure in officiating personally in these ceremonies. I knew him well, and esteemed him for those virtues which won the hearts of the nation; and admired him for that intellect which secured to him the admiration of the world."

Mr. James M. Mason, the Chairman of the Senate committee, rose and said:

"Governor FLOYD:—The committee of the Senate of the United States receive back at your hands from the State of Virginia, the remains of their late colleague, the illustrious CALHOUN. The solemn and imposing reception which awaited them yesterday, at the confines of this city, by the citizens and the civil authorities of the City of Richmond, and their honored repose during the past night in the halls of their Capitol, under the safe-guard of the State, most touchingly evince the deep sense entertained by Virginia of the pure and lofty patriotism which ever guided him in life, and will remain a proud memorial to future ages. In discharge of the trust confided to us by the Senate, we shall pursue our melancholy way, sir, to the final resting place allotted for his remains, in his native State, bearing with us a grateful sense of the tribute paid to his memory at the capital of Virginia, by these imposing solemnities, and of the generous hospitalities which have been extended to the entire escort, by the City of Richmond. Before taking leave, however, you will allow me to refer to the committee of citizens of the State of South Carolina, who have been deputed to repair to Washington, and to unite on this sad occasion, in rendering merited honor to the memory of her illustrious dead; a deputation of her most grave and valued citizens, whose presence here most feelingly manifests their own profound respect for the statesman who is no more, whilst it testifies how deeply Carolina mourns the loss of her patriot son —the gifted sage—the virtuous man, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN."

The Chairman of our committee then said:

"Governor FLOYD:—I am at a loss for words to express, for myself and my associates from South Carolina, the feelings excited by this solemn occasion; and in the attempt to give them utterance, the sincerity of the heart must supply the place of set forms of speech.

"We are deeply affected by the honors with which the remains of the lamented dead were yesterday received at the border of Virginia; by the manifestations of respect during our progress; by the touching ceremonies of the reception here; by those through which we are now passing; and by the kindness shown to all who have been deputed to the melancholy offices in which we are engaged. These generous testimonials on the part of Virginia, to the worth of this cherished son of South Carolina, will find a cordial answer from every heart within his native State.

"Senates and assemblies of the people and distinguished individuals, have recorded their sense of the merits of the departed statesman and of the public loss. These valued tributes will impress the country. But those of Virginia are enhanced by her sympathy, so manifest at every stage of our passage through her territory.

"And, sir, her offerings are full of associations of the highest interest. They recall the talent and worth which Virginia herself has given to the country. She is the mother of great men. Her sons walk by the light of a galaxy of her own. She has a right to praise, and we feel the value of her tributes.

"Your Excellency, and the Hon. Chairman of the committee of Senators, have both been pleased to refer, in strong and grateful terms, to the pure and elevated character of Mr. CALHOUN. Of all the grounds of public favor, this is the most gratifying. It is the recognition of high moral worth that gives to all public honors their chief value. Wisdom may command, eloquence may win, and station influence; but it is virtue only that consecrates our powers. "Power to do good," said Lord Bacon, "is the true and lawful end of all aspiring." Ambition, to be virtuous, must be virtuously directed; and moral worth is an essential element in any just standard of public character. These ceremonies, then, are no mere pageant. They are the testimony of public opinion to high virtue, guiding high intellect. They will fix the attention of the young on the true grounds of all desirable distinction. Let our young men be incited to virtuous distinction; let them emulate virtuous example; let them draw their fires from the altars of a pure devotion, and our country must be safe.

"In taking leave, permit me to offer our thanks for the part which

you have taken personally in these mournful honors; and to express my regret that the feelings appropriate to an occasion so imposing, have received from me so inadequate an expression."

A most touching and solemn offering to the Throne of Grace, by the Rev. Mr. Reed, concluded the ceremonies in the Capitol. The remains were then conveyed to the hearse, and the procession being formed, we went in carriages, as on the preceding day, to the sound of solemn music and the tolling of bells, to the Railroad depot. We were received in cars specially provided and prepared for us, and proceeded to Petersburg. We were accompanied from Richmond to the boundary of the State, by a deputation appointed by his Excellency, Gov. Floyd, and consisting of T. T. Giles, G. M. Carrington, B. B. Minor, and H. C. Cabell, Esqrs. We arrived at Petersburg about noon, and were met by his Honor, Mr. Corling, the Mayor, the entire magistracy and Common Council, and by the venerable Judge May, the Chairman, and his committee of citizens, with a large military detachment. The whole cortege were accompanied in private carriages, followed by a numerous procession of citizens, to St. Paul's Church, on Walnut street. We found the church hung throughout in mourning. Here the remains were deposited, on a bier in charge of the military, to await our departure, with the regular train of that evening, for Wilmington. During the procession every store was closed, and some of the houses exhibited badges of mourning.

The church was filled with ladies and gentlemen, to witness the silent but impressive ceremony. The committees, with all associated with them, and the deputation from Richmond, were conducted from the church to the hotel at the Petersburg and Roanoke Railroad depot, where we were received as guests of the city. Here a sumptuous dinner awaited us, after receiving the visits and courtesies of the citizens: The Hon. Judge May, Daniel Lyon, and Thomas Wallace, Esqrs. representing the city at dinner. At 8 o'clock that evening, we proceeded on our way to Weldon, and travelled all night. At about 2 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, we reached Weldon, whither a detachment from four uniform companies of Petersburg, under the command of Lieut. Allfriend, had accompanied us. Here they were to take leave. The detachment was formed into line, and the Chairman of the Senate and South Carolina committees addressed to them appropriate acknowledgments. To these, Lieut. Allfriend replied, assuring us that "however mournful the occasion, the part they had taken was deemed by them a duty and a privilege."

At the distance of about 40 miles from Wilmington, we were met by

a deputation of ten gentlemen from that city, consisting of Dr. De Rossett, Sen., (a gentleman 83 years of age,) Chairman, and Messrs. J. F. McCrea, Sen., P. R. Dickinson, W. C. Bettencaurt, James Owen, Thos. H. Wright, John Walker, and Thomas Loring, of Wilmington, and F. J. Hill, of Brunswick, and James Iredell, of Raleigh. These gentlemen tendered to us the hospitalities of Wilmington. We reached that city at 1 o'clock. A gun was fired on our arrival as a signal, at which the flags of the public buildings and the shipping were struck at half mast; the bells began to toll and the military to fire minute guns. We were now informed that arrangements had been made for the reception of the whole company at the hotel, as guests of the city; but that it having been suggested to them that delay in leaving Wilmington might interfere with the ceremonies of the reception in Charleston the next day, they requested that their desires should not interfere with our arrangements. This delicate and considerate course left us at liberty to embark without delay. To this end, the body was placed on a hearse, appropriately decorated for the occasion, drawn by a white horse, with coverings of black, and a procession formed from the cars to the steamer. The citizens were arranged in a long double line, and stood uncovered, whilst the procession passed through them to solemn music. The ceremony was deeply impressive. The body was placed on board the steamer Nina, which had been prepared and sent by your Excellency to receive it, with the committees in attendance. We were here met by Capt. William Blanding, who had been requested by the City Council to proceed to Wilmington in the Nina, as Master of Ceremonies. The Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad Company had also in waiting one of their boats, the Wilmington, the use of which had been kindly tendered to and accepted by our city authorities. A part of the company in attendance went in each boat; and by this arrangement, the comfort of all was greatly promoted. We were accompanied to Charleston by a deputation of sixteen citizens of Wilmington, of whom Dr. De Rossett, the elder, was Chairman; and also by a deputation of four from the Board of Directors of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad Company, of whom Gen. James Owen was Chairman. The two steamers left Wilmington together about 3 o'clock, P. M., for Charleston.

On the details thus given of the honors paid to the memory of Mr. Calhoun, it may be remarked, that at each of the cities through which we passed, the ceremonies had some appropriate peculiarity. The simple and silent movement from the Capitol at Washington, where the eloquence of public and individual sorrow had so recently been heard; the emblems of respect at Alexandria; the honors to our sad procession as

it moved slowly through Fredericksburg, with the military and civic escort of that city; the more elaborate arrangements at Richmond for the reception and charge of the remains for the night, and their re-delivery the next day, with the kind attention to the comfort of the committees; the full and imposing procession through Petersburg, the church draped in crape, and the informal courtesies of the citizens; the numerous array of private citizens at Wilmington, through whom the procession passed to the boat, all exhibited the common purpose in these several communities, with variety in the modes of manifesting their respect to the memory of the dead, and their kindness to the living.

To these more formal tributes were added other testimonials less imposing, but not less touching. At several small places along the road, the discharge of cannon was the manifestation of respect. As we passed a farm near Wilmington, North Carolina, the owner, an elderly man, stood at the road-side, uncovered, his right hand resting on a small pine, hung with emblems of mourning, with his two servants standing behind him, also uncovered. And a short time before this, a distant bell had sounded the modest tribute of a rural neighborhood, where no assemblage was seen. It ought also to be remembered that at every place, all who composed the cortege were received as guests; that through the entire line of travel, conveyances had been tendered, and were provided without charge; and that the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad Company would permit no charge to the South Carolina Committee on their way to Washington.

And whilst the committee of twenty-five thus report the distinguished honors paid to the memory of the lamented CALHOUN, they gratefully recall the respect and kindness shown to themselves, for their work's sake. To the Honorable the committee of the Senate of the United States, to the citizens of Washington, Fredericksburgh, Richmond, Petersburgh and Wilmington, and especially to the authorities and committees of the several cities, their thanks are due, and they would thus record their acknowledgments.

We entered the harbor of Charleston at 9 o'clock on Thursday morning, the 25th April. A fog made the city indistinct to view, until we had approached quite near to it, when we observed that the houses were hung with emblems of mourning. The tone of deep feeling produced by the silent eloquence of these tokens, was made deeper by the Sabbath-like stillness of the city. On our approaching the revenue cutter Crawford in the roads, she commenced the firing of minute guns. The Nina took her in tow, and a procession of boats was formed, con-

sisting of the Nina and Wilmington, the revenue cutter and the steamers Metamora and Pilot; the two latter with citizens on board. These vessels, all displaying emblems of mourning, arranged with remarkable care and taste, moved slowly several times along the entire line of the city, from the Southern point of the Battery to the landing place at Smith's wharf, until the hour appointed for the landing. This novel procession was felt by all to increase the deep solemnity of the occasion. At 12 o'clock, the body of J. C. CALHOUN was landed on the soil of his native State, to receive the honors of his own sorrowing people. The description of these honors belongs to others.

In conclusion, the committee would remark, that the manifestations of respect to the memory of our lamented fellow-citizen, were tributes both to distinguished talents and services, and to moral excellence universally felt and acknowledged. With the public tributes were combined the most gratifying private recognitions of the purity and elevation of purpose exhibited throughout his life.

Mr. CALHOUN was indeed in the vale of years; venerable for ripe knowledge and long service; but the bond between his country and himself, amid the conflicts of opinion, and the asperities of parties, was this moral element, which adorned not only the evening of his life, but its morning and noon. This, joined to great powers, made up the man, whose memory the country deems it a privilege to honor.

Let us trust, then, that the regrets and the honors which have followed him to the tomb, will impress upon the young men of our country, the value of high character and virtuous purposes. With these, the useful employment of talent is limited to no one period of life; "for honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age."

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
DANIEL RAVENEL,
*Chairman Com. of Twenty-five.*

The Committee of Twenty-five consisted of the following gentlemen:

Daniel Ravenel,
C. G. Memminger,
Alfred Huger,
H. A. DeSaussure,
James Rose,
Henry Gourdin,
G. A. Trenholm,
Chas. Edmondston,
Col. J. A. Leland,
S. Y. Tupper,
Mm. M. Martin,
P. C. Gaillard,
Wm. Aiken,
John E. Carew,
Chas. T. Lowndes,
P. Della Torre,
Thomas Lehre,
Col. James Legare,
Col. E. M. Seabrook,
Geo. N. Reynolds,
John Russell,
Col. M. I. Keith,
A. Moise, Jr.,
Geo. S. Bryan,
Paul H. Seabrook.

# PAPERS

ACCOMPANYING THE PRECEDING REPORT.

## PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS IN WASHINGTON.

The remains of Mr. CALHOUN will be brought to the Capitol in a hearse, by 8 o'clock, A. M., in the morning of Monday, the 22d inst., in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and will so remain in his charge, and with those assistants present who are to accompany it to the South. They will be at the Eastern front.

Carriages will be sent for the committee of the Senate and Mr. Venable and Mr. Holmes, of S. C., their guests, and for the committee from South Carolina, to their respective lodgings, to be there *punctually* at *half-past seven*. They will rendezvous at the Eastern front of the Capitol; and at 8 o'clock punctually, a baggage-wagon, in charge of a messenger, will convey the baggage of the South Carolina committee, and have it on board before the procession arrives.

The body, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, with his assistants, and the committee, will leave the Capitol at 8 o'clock, punctually, and proceed to the mail boat—passing on the southern side of Capitol Hill, and along Maryland Avenue.

The Sergeant-at-Arms will communicate a copy of this to Daniel Ravenel, Esq., Chairman of the committee for South Carolina, and to Mr. Venable and Mr. Holmes.

(Signed) JAMES M. MASON.

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## PASSAGE THROUGH FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA.

The following information has been kindly furnished by the Hon. R. B. Semple, Mayor of Fredericksburg, in compliance with a request from the Chairman of the committee.

Names of the individuals who participated in the demonstrations of

respect to the remains of Mr. CALHOUN on their passage through Fredericksburg:

*Officers of the Corporation:*

R. B. SEMPLE, Mayor,
Dr. B. R. HERNDON, Recorder,
JOHN MINOR, Councilman,
THOMAS B. BARTON, Commonwealth's Attorney,
JOHN J. CHEW, Clerk of Hustings Court.
*Citizens:*
Col. HUGH MERCER,
EUSTACE CONWAY.
} Committee.

*Military:*

Capt. WILLIAM S. BARTON, of Fredericksburg Guards.
First Lieut. JAS. H. LAWRENCE, " "
Second Lieut. J. L. JONES, " "
Third Lieut. WM. A. METCALF, " "
Fourth Lieut. C. B. WHITE. " "

*Band:*

Capt. JOHN W. ADAMS, and twelve others.

The following orders were issued on the occasion:

1st. A committee, consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, Col. Hugh Mercer, (only surviving son of Gen. Hugh Mercer,) and Messrs. Barton, Conway, Chew, and Minor, to meet the remains at the Creek, and accompany them to town.

2d. That the Fredericksburg Guards, accompanied by their Band, attend the committee to the Creek, and perform such evolutions as may be suitable to the occasion.

3d. That a hearse be prepared to carry the remains through the principal streets of the town.

4th. That minute guns be fired from 10 o'clock, A. M., to 3 o'clock, P. M.

5th. That the bells of the town be tolled from 10 o'clock, A. M., to 3 o'clock, P. M.

All these orders were fully executed, save the third, which, the committee were informed by the Richmond committee, would interfere with previous arrangements, and therefore could not be carried out.

The Mayor concludes his communication with the following remarks.

"Upon no occasion, have we seen the people of this town more dis-

posed to pay honor to the memory of one, for whose transcendent abilities, and undimmed virtues, however they may have differed with him politically, they entertained the utmost reverence. And personally, it gives me great pleasure to say, that upon no occasion in the course of my official duties, have I been more conscious of discharging a duty, than in these offices to the memory of one of the greatest patriots and purest men this country has produced."

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## RESOLUTIONS OF "THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND."

At a meeting of the Council of the City of Richmond, called by the President, and held on Thursday, the 18th day of April, 1850.

Present, Gustavus A. Myers, President; William C. Allen, James Bosher, Joseph M. Carrington, Samuel D. Denoon, Simon Cullen, Wellington Goddin, Conway Robinson, David J. Saunders, James M. Talbott, Richard O. Haskins, and Lewis W. Chamberlayne.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Council—

Whereas, it is understood that the remains of JOHN C. CALHOUN, late a Senator from our sister State of South Carolina, will be brought to this city on Monday afternoon, in charge of a joint committee from his native State, and from the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States; and this Council, being desirous, on the part of the citizens of Richmond, of manifesting every respect to the memory of a man not less distinguished for the purity of his private life than illustrious as a statesman and patriot,

*Resolved*, That Messrs. Haskins, Chamberlayne and Allen, be a committee on the part of the Council; and Messrs. Loftin, N. Ellett, George E. Sadler, George M. Carrington, James H. Poindexter, James Winston, Hugh Riliegh, Richard B. Haxall, William F. Ritchie, Thomas R. Price, Col. John Rutherford, Nicholas Mills, Judge John S. Caskie, William H. Macfarland, William Rutherford, Mann S. Valentine, Robert G. Scott, and Joseph Mayo, a committee of the citizens of Richmond, to co-operate with any committee that may be appointed by the Executive of this Commonwealth, in making suitable arrangements for the reception of the remains of the late JOHN C. CALHOUN, on their arrival in this city. And that the committee, on behalf of the Council and citizens, be requested to invite the joint committee and all others

attending the remains, to consider themselves as the guests of this city.

*Resolved*, That the said committee of the Council and citizens inform the joint committee thereof, and make the necessary arrangements for their accommodation.

On motion of Mr. Chamberlayne,

*Ordered*, That the President be added to the committee on the part of the Council.

And then the Council adjourned.

A copy from the journal of the Council.

WM. P. SHEPPARD, C. C. R.

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His Excellency, Gov. Floyd, also appointed a Committee to act with the committee of the citizens. At a meeting of the joint committees, a sub-committee of arrangements was appointed, of which the Hon. John Y. Mason was named the Chairman, and the Hon. John Y. Mason, Gustavus A. Myers, James Lyons, and William F. Ritchie, Esquires, were requested to proceed to the Potomac River, and receive those in charge of the remains at the border of the State.

At the request of the Governor, deputations were in attendance from other parts of the State.

The following programme of the arrangements was published in the Richmond papers of Monday morning, 22d April, viz:

## ORDER OF PROCESSION,

To be observed on reception of the remains of the late Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, Monday afternoon, the 22d inst.:

Military Escort.

The Hearse.

Relations and friends of the deceased, with committees of Congress and South Carolina in charge of the remains.

The Joint Committee of Arrangements, appointed by the Governor, Council and Citizens of Richmond.

The Clergy.

The Governor, Council, and Officers of the State.

The Judges of the State and Federal Courts.

Officers of the Army and Navy of the United States.

The Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen and Common Council of the City of Richmond.

The Different Societies of the City.

The Citizens.

The procession will be formed at 4 o'clock, at a point near the entrance to Buchanan's Spring; its right upon the left of the Military.

The following named gentlemen are appointed as Assistant Marshals: Col. John A. Meredith, Col. Henry W. Quarles, Col. George W. Munford, Col. George N. Johnson, Col. J. W. Spaulding, Major Thomas H. Ellis, Major H. C. Cabell, Capt. R. G. Scott, Jr., Capt. Thomas J. Evans, B. B. Minor, D. C. Randolph, and Thomas J. Deane, Esqrs.

The Marshals are requested to meet at the Chamberlain's Office at 10 o'clock, on Monday morning.

BENJ. SHEPPARD, Chief Marshal.

The Governor requests the following named gentlemen to act as pall-bearers at the funeral ceremonies of the late Mr. JOHN C. CALHOUN: Messrs. John Y. Mason, James D. Halyburton, William Daniel, John M. Patton, B. W. S. Cabell, J. B. Harvie, William H. Richardson, and John A. Meredith.

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## PROCEEDINGS AT PETERSBURGH, VIRGINIA,

From information afforded by the Hon. Charles Corling, Mayor:

*Programme of Arrangements, from the Petersburgh Papers of 23d April.*

### COMMON HALL.

The members of the Common Hall are requested to meet at their room this morning at 10 o'clock, for the purpose of meeting the remains of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, deceased.

CHARLES CORLING, *Mayor.*

April 23.

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The Committee appointed by the Common Hall to arrange the details of the reception of the remains of the lamented patriot and statesman, JOHN C. CALHOUN, report as follows:

1st. That the Common Hall assemble at the Court House at 10 o'clock, A. M., and proceed to the Richmond and Petersburgh Railroad depot in a body, and accompany the remains thence to its temporary resting place at the Episcopal Church, on Walnut street.

2nd. That the citizens desirous of uniting in the sad offices of respect

to the illustrious dead, be respectfully requested to assemble at the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad depot, at half-past 10 A. M., of this day.

3rd. That the commandants of our Volunteer Companies be requested to furnish detachments of their different corps to escort and guard the remains while in our town; that the Artillery Company be requested to fire minute guns, and the bells of the different churches be tolled while the procession is moving.

4th. That the church in which the remains shall be temporarily deposited, be clothed in mourning, and that the citizens be requested to close their doors from half-past 11, A. M., when the body will arrive at this place, until the procession shall have passed.

5th. That John F. May, Francis Major, William T. Joynes, William Brownley, H. B. Gaines, James Dunlop, Robert Birchett, Robert R. Collier, John Sturdivant, John W. Syme, Joseph C. Swan, D. M. Bernard, G. V. Scott and Peter P. Batte, committee of citizens, be requested to act with the committee of the Hall, to receive and entertain the Joint Committee of Congress, the committee of the State of South Carolina, and the friends and mourners of the deceased, as guests of the town.

6th. That Jordan Branch, Esq., be appointed Marshal, with authority to appoint assistants.

7th. That the citizens be requested to send their carriages to the depot at half-past 10 o'clock.

CHARLES CORLING,
ANDREW KEVAN,
THOMAS WALLACE. } *Committe.*

The following extracts from Mr. Corling's letter, will be read with interest.

"I rejoice to say that our entire Magistracy and Common Council, in a body, attended the remains from the Richmond depot; and the citizens with great unanimity, responded to the recommendations of the committee, sanctioned by the people and our Common Hall. The third resolution only contemplated detachments of the Volunteers to protect the procession and guard the remains; but all the Volunteers insisted upon uniting in the last offices of respect to one whose death is felt to be a common loss."

"The Petersburgh Grays—Capt. Joseph V. Scott.
" Petersburgh Artillery—Capt. D'Arcey Paul.
" Cockade Blues—Capt. Robert Downan,
and " Petersburgh Riflemen—Capt. James S. Gilliam,
constituted the military who took part in the procession.

"We deeply regretted that we could not, by more than mere outward demonstrations of respect, evince to you how deeply we sympathised in South Carolina's and our country's loss. We loved and admired JOHN C. CALHOUN. With a mind that could grasp the affairs of a universe, he possessed a heart that made him ever accessible to the humblest of his fellow citizens. Differ with him as men might, yet all admitted him to be *the man* of the age. The fame of South Carolina will grow prouder in the annals of history, because her glories are linked forever with the memory of her illustrious son."

*Marshall.*

JORDAN BRANCH, Esq.

*Assistant Marshalls.*

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| CHARLES F. COLLIER, | JOHN ROWLETT, |
| ROBERT FOSTER, | DANIEL DODSON, |
| G. V. RAMBANT, | FRANKLIN PEGRAM. |

The array of equipages both at Richmond and at Petersburgh, attracted general attention. Many of them were elegant; all of them in good taste. These were all private equipages, sent by the citizens for the accommodation of the committees, officers, deputations, and others composing the cortege. The coachmen and footmen at both cities were distinguished by long bands of fine white cambric, on black hats, and tied with black ribbons, and by like bands tied around the left arm.

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## PROCEEDINGS AT WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA.

*Extract from the Programme of Arrangements.*

"A committee of ten, consisting of—

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| A. J. DEROSSETT, Sen. | JAMES OWEN, |
| JAMES F. MCREE, Sen. | THOMAS H. WRIGHT, |
| P. R. DICKINSON, | JOHN WALKER, |
| WM. C. BETTENCAURT, | THOMAS LORING, |
| F. J. HILL, of Brunswick, | JAMES IREDELL, of Raleigh, |

will proceed up the line of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad, to receive the remains, and escort them on their passage through this place. These gentlemen will also act as Pall-bearers in the procession.

"The citizens generally, are requested to close their stores, to suspend all operations of business, and to meet at the depot at 12 o'clock. There the procession will be formed, under the direction of W. C. Howard, Chief Marshall; receive the remains in open order, and escort them to the foot of Market street, where the boat from Charleston will be in waiting."

The following gentlemen acted as Marshalls:

*Chief Marshall.*

William C. Howard.

*Assistant Marshalls.*

J. G. Green, E. W. Hall.

Crape was provided by the City for the Clergy, Pall-bearers, and citizens.

The following gentlemen formed the deputations from the City of Wilmington, and the Board of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad company, who accompanied the remains to Charleston, by invitation, viz: Dr. A. J. DeRosett, Sen., Chairman of deputation of Wilmington, Gen. James Owen, Chairman of deputation of Railroad Board.

C. W. Hull,
R. H. Cowan,
C. D. Ellis,
L. H. Marsteller,
E. Cantwell,
H. Nutt,
J. Fulton,
M. Costin,
John Cowan
J. T. M'Kee,
J. G. Green,
A. A. Brown,
Dr. J. Swann,
P. M. Walker,
James T. Miller,
H. R. Savage,
Dr. DeRossett, Jr.
Wm. C. Bettencaurt.

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## MINUTES OF THE FINAL MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

Council Chamber,
Charleston, May 24, 1850.

At a meeting of the Committee of Twenty-five, appointed by his Excellency, the Governor, there were present, Daniel Ravenel, Esq., Chairman; Samuel G. Tupper, Secretary; Messrs. DeSaussure, Huger,

Lowndes, Aiken, E. M. Seabrook, Bryan, Moise, Jr., Reynolds, Jr., Torre, Russell, Legare and Edmondston.

The Chairman submitted a communication, received by him from his Excellency, Governor Seabrook, requesting him to furnish a narrative of the proceedings of the committee from the time of their departure from Charleston until their return. The Chairman then read a letter in reply, which he had prepared; being a full report of proceedings and incidents connected with the visit of the committee to Washington, in which particular reference was made to the many and imposing solemnities which marked the transit of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN from Washington to Charleston.

Mr. DeSaussure, after expressing his great satisfaction with the report, moved that it be approved of by the committee, and that the Chairman be requested to place the same in the hands of his Excellency the Governor; which was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Ex-Gov. Aiken, it was

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be requested to write out and communicate to the Governor, with his report for publication, the addresses made by him at Richmond.

Mr. Moise having expressed a desire to offer a resolution in reference to the Chairman, the Chairman retired, when Alfred Huger, Esq., was called to the Chair. Mr. Moise then offered complimentary resolutions in reference to the Chairman and Chairman *pro. tem.* of the committee, which were *unanimously* adopted, and Mr. Huger was requested to transmit them to the Governor.

On the return of the Chairman, Mr. Ravenel, he was impressively addressed by Mr. Huger, and the substance of the above resolutions communicated to him; to which Mr. Ravenel feelingly responded in acknowledgment of the compliment.

Col. Seabrook then offered a resolution of thanks to the Secretary and Treasurer of the committee, which was unanimously adopted, with a request that the Chairman would communicate the same to Governor Seabrook.

The committee then adjourned *sine die*.

S. Y. TUPPER, *Secretary*.

NOTE.—In compliance with one of the above resolutions, the report of the Committee of Twenty-Five was so modified as to include, as part of the narrative, the several addresses made at Richmond.

## EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

The Chairman having left the room, after the adoption of his report by the committee, the Hon. Alfred Huger was requested to take the Chair.

A. Moise, Jr., Esq., then rose, and solicited for a short time the attention of the committee, as this meeting would, in all probability, be its last. It had been charged with duties the most sacred and responsible. The mission upon which it had been sent by South Carolina, was perhaps the most solemn, delicate, and interesting, which she had ever delegated to her sons. That mission had now become a subject of deep historic interest, and the touching incidents associated with it, would not soon fade from the public mind and heart. It was indeed vividly impressed upon both. It was an event in which not only South Carolina, but the whole nation, had manifested an intense interest, and yielded a universal and spontaneous sympathy.

Mr. Moise said that much of the difficulty and responsibility which the duties of the committee involved, had necessarily fallen upon its Chairman, Daniel Ravenel, Esq.; and he would avail of the temporary absence of that gentleman to submit what he felt assured would meet a prompt and cordial response.

Mr. Moise then offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the committee appointed by his Excellency the Governor, to convey to South Carolina the remains of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, desire to place on record their high appreciation of the services of their Chairman, Daniel Ravenel, Esq. The entire propriety, and delicacy of sentiment, conspicuous in the discharge of his varied duties, have not failed deeply to impress his colleagues; and the unaffected modesty which graced his whole deportment, while it has increased their estimation of the successful service he has rendered, admonishes them to say no *more* on the present occasion. *Less*, they could not say, in justice to themselves.

*Resolved*, That the acknowledgments of the committee are also due the Hon. Henry A. DeSaussure, for the zeal, urbanity, and dignity, with which he conducted the duties of Chair, during the necessary absence of the Chairman.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these proceedings be sent by the Secretary to the Hon. Alfred Huger, with the request that they be transmitted to his Excellency the Governor for publication, with the report of Daniel Ravenel, Esq.

The resolutions were seconded by Col. P. Della Torre, and unanimously adopted.

SAMUEL Y. TUPPER, *Secretary.*

Charleston, May, 1850.

CHARLESTON, June 1, 1850.

DEAR SIR: At the last meeting of the Committee of Twenty-five, the preamble and resolutions herewith enclosed, were, during the temporary absence of Mr. Ravenel, unanimously adopted.

The committee have instructed me to request that these resolutions be appended to the "Narrative" of our mournful mission; a document which is submitted to your Excellency by your own desire.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

ALFRED HUGER.

*His Excellency, Gov. Seabrook.*

# NARRATIVE

## OF THE FUNERAL HONORS PAID TO THE HON. J. C. CALHOUN, AT CHARLESTON, S. C.

On the evening of the 31st March, 1850, telegraphic dispatches from Washington announced the death of the Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, at the seat of Government. The next day, when the intelligence became generally known, the dejection that dwelt upon the countenances of all, revealed the public sense of the deep calamity that had fallen upon the country; a settled gloom rested upon the city of Charleston; the busy operations of life were suspended, and the heart of the whole community seemed for awhile to stand still. The bells of St. Michael's Church were tolled throughout the day, and the shipping in harbor displayed their colors at half mast; the melancholy truth was apparent that CALHOUN was no more!

All that now remained for an afflicted people, was to endeavor to clothe the public sentiment of love and veneration for his memory, with those external demonstrations of respect to all that was mortal, commensurate with his exalted virtue and public service.

The City Council immediately convened, when the sad intelligence was officially communicated by the Mayor, and the following resolutions unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That Council have heard with feelings of deep emotion, the death of the Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, in whose decease the country has lost a patriot, distinguished by long and illustrious service, and the State a cherished and devoted son.

"*Resolved*, That in token of respect to the eminent abilities and elevated virtues of the deceased, a suitable monument be forthwith erected to his memory in the centre of the city square, and that a committee of Council, of which his Honor the Mayor shall be Chairman, be appointed to carry out the intention of this resolution.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of Council be also appointed to co-operate, if desired, with any committee of citizens that may be appointed to-morrow evening, in making all proper and necessary arrangements for the reception of the body of the deceased, as well as in paying other suitable marks of respect to his memory.

"*Resolved*, That the Mayor be requested to communicate these resolutions to the family of the deceased, tendering to them the sympathies of Council in this, their afflicting bereavement."

The next evening, the 2d April, pursuant to a call at the desire of the citizens, a public meeting was held at the City Hall. Long before the appointed hour, a dense crowd, representing all classes and interests, thronged the hall. The meeting was organized by the call of the Hon. T. L. Hutchinson, Mayor of the city, to the chair, and the appointment of F. P. Porcher and H. P. Walker, Esqrs., Secretaries. The Chairman thus announced the object of the meeting:

"FELLOW CITIZENS: The occasion that draws us together is the saddest that has ever darkened the hearts of Carolinians. A great affliction has befallen the land; an especial calamity has overshadowed us. A nation mourns, but ours is the peculiar grief. CALHOUN is no more! The foremost spirit of the time has been quenched forever. The incorruptible patriot, the statesman without guile; the orator upon whose accents Senates hung in silence; the honest politician, whose love of country taught him to forget the love of self; the public man who, with every incentive and every opportunity for personal aggrandizement, scorned all ways as unsanctified, that swerved one hair's breadth from truth and rectitude; who devoted a life of forty years to the service of his country, moving in an independent sphere, for it may justly be said, that he was allied to no political sect, but held himself aloof, to stand forth when duty called him to sway by his reason and his judgment, the impulses of the hour to the right course; and amid the perils and contentions of forty years, the strife of party and the asperity of prejudice, has left a spotless fame, and a career that makes ambition virtue.

"He was the defender of Southern right, the guardian of the Constitution, an ardent lover of the Union; his searching foresight first detected in their remotest depths those evils which he foretold would arise to endanger the political bands that secure this Confederacy—and whose shadows now darkening around and above us, have endowed him with a prophet's vision; whose dying words, spoken as if from the tomb, have pointed the means whereby these dangers may be averted, and the peace and harmony of the country restored—his last legacy to the people and the Union he loved so well.

"The death of Mr. CALHOUN is an affliction that comes directly home to 'men's business and bosoms;' at this particular period, when the eyes of all men were upon him, and the hopes of the South rested in him, as an ark amid the political blackness lowering around, this dispensation of Providence comes with stunning effect. He has left his

life as a model, his precepts as our guide. High as is the estimate of his ability and public service, he stands too near us to permit his intellect and its effects upon the age, to be viewed in all its noble proportions—time will place future generations in the proper position to survey him with just admiration. He belongs to posterity; but even now, since death has veiled the mortal man, he appears to the mental eye like some great statue of antiquity—classic in outline, dignified in posture, majestic and serene—his purity gleaming from the lustre of the marble, and standing in bold relief against the blue of heaven.

"He has taken his place among the master spirits of the universe, sent for some wise end, whose mission is to be achieved. 'Though dead he yet speaketh.' The work allotted to him by his Divine master may be left unfinished, but the foundation is traced, the structure designed, the influence of his mind and its deep-seated wisdom remains—the future will confirm that he is one of

> "The dead but scepter'd sovereigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns."

"The annals of his country, for nearly a half century, are his biography. His proper eulogy belongs to the historian, who has only to recount with truthfulness the actions of his life, in their public and private relations, to shew to the world the excellence of the gift bestowed by God, and the reasonableness of a nation's grief that deplores his loss.

"The object of the present meeting is to give expression to the bereavement felt by this community, and to adopt such measures of respect to his memory as the occasion demands."

The Hon. F. H. ELMORE, laboring under severe indisposition, addressed himself briefly to the subject of the meeting, and moved the adoption of the following Preamble and Resolutions.

The citizens of Charleston, in common with the people of the whole State of South Carolina, feel that an irreparable misfortune has befallen us in the death of our Senator JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. He has been endeared to us by more than forty years of faithful services, first in our State Legislature, and afterward in the Federal Government. In all that time, and on all occasions of public need, when his State or his country called (and on no great emergency did they fail to do so) he put every object of personal or selfish advantage aside, and surrendered himself wholly to the public good.

To us, to South Carolina, we all know he gave the unlimited devotion of his pure heart. To us, and to his whole country, in common, he

yielded, with prodigality, all the capacities of his mighty mind; a wisdom gained in the deepest study of our Constitution and system of government, and ripened by his own long experience and reflections on its administration; a knowledge of national and State affairs, and of their relations with great measures and interests, unsurpassed; abilities pre-eminent in every department of governmental science, and our internal policy; and a statesmanship and sagacity far-seeing, profound, comprehensive and patriotic.

Honesty, candor and truthfulness, imparted to these great and shining qualities, a higher power and wider influence over the opinions of his countrymen and the policy of their government, than even his brilliant genius and commanding intellect. And this power and influence so honorably acquired, was ever as usefully employed, on all domestic questions, in the side of justice, moderation and constitutional right; and in our relations with Foreign Powers, for the maintenance of our national honor, and the preservation of peace with all nations of the world.

By the use he made of his great capacities, Mr. CALHOUN has run up a heavy debt on his country, and on mankind—a debt which will be more and more felt and acknowledged in the progress of future times. The lessons of his wisdom and the lights of his knowledge cannot now be lost. They will guide, not only our own and other times, but our own and other nations. Although he has gone from us forever, these and his example remain—a great example of forty years in the affairs of life—forty eventful and trying years, in which, while discharging many high public trusts, and fulfilling the duties of the home circle, as the father of a family, friend and neighbor, there is not a blot or stain upon his purity or uprightness as a public man or private citizen; no reproach for backwardness or doubt in assuming the position of duty, or of slackness or want of firmness or fidelity in maintaining it.

In all that long period, he was ever in the advanced front of every great national question, and maintained openly and manfully, on all occasions, what he deemed right, with a courage that was never subdued or gave way. In his private life, he was deserving of all commendation for the simplicity and frugality of his style of living; for his modest and hearty hospitality; for his constant and active industry. He was no less deserving of admiration in public affairs, for his high resolve and unconquerable spirit. And above all others, in this last act, which is just finished, has he, at a moment and in a cause where such an example has inappreciable value, given us a lesson of patriotism and of exalted courage, far more heroic than a thousand deaths in the field of

battle, in calmly and resolutely surrendering his life, through the slow process of months and months of wasting disease, rather than abandon the post where the call of duty stationed him. Be it therefore

*Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Charleston, deplore the death of our Senator, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, as a heavy and irreparable public misfortune.

*Resolved*, That we concur in the arrangements made by the City Council for the reception of the body of Mr. CALHOUN, and that his Excellency, the Governor, be requested to appoint a committee, to consist of twenty-five persons, to proceed to Washington, to procure and bring his remains to Charleston, and to co-operate in all other measures for their final disposition.

*Resolved*, That this meeting also highly approve the resolution of the City Council to erect a monument to his memory in the city square, as a fitting tribute to a faithful and illustrious public servant.

*Resolved*, That the City Council of Charleston be requested to select some fit and proper person to prepare and deliver an eulogy and funeral oration on the life, character, and services of Mr. CALHOUN.

*Resolved*, That this meeting recommend that the usual badge of mourning be worn by all for thirty days.

*Resolved*, That this meeting deeply sympathise with the family of Mr. CALHOUN in their affliction and loss; and that the Chairman of this meeting be requested to forward them copies of these proceedings.

His Excellency Governor Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, in seconding the motion of the Hon. F. H. Elmore, feelingly alluded to the loss the State had sustained.

The meeting was then eloquently addressed by the Hon. B. F. Porter and Col. Arthur P. Hayne, when the question was taken, and the preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

O. A. Andrews, Esq., rose, and felicitously alluded to the assiduous attention paid by the Hon. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, and other friends, to our deceased Senator, during his last illness, and moved the adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the devoted attention and active sympathy which marked the course of the Hon. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, and other friends, to our deceased Senator, have excited our profound sensibility. We feel that in ministering to *him*, they have also ministered to us. We will cherish these offices of kindness to our departed statesman in grateful recollection.

Which was also unanimously adopted.

In accordance with the second resolution adopted at the public meeting, his Excellency, the Governor, appointed the following Committee of Twenty-five:

DANIEL RAVENEL, *Chairman*. JOHN E. CAREW,
H. W. CONNER, Col. JAMES GADSDEN,

H. A. DeSaussure,
Col. James Legare,
Col. E. M. Seabrook,
James Rose,
Henry Gourdin,
Alfred Huger,
S. Y. Tupper,
Mm. M. Martin,
P. C. Gaillard,
Wm. Aiken,
G. A. Trenholm,
C. G. Memminger,
Chas. T. Lowndes,
P. Della Torre,
Thomas Lehre,
Col. A. P. Hayne,
Chas. Edmondston,
A. G. Magrath,
A. Moise, Jr.,
Geo. N. Reynolds,
John Russell.*

On the 5th April, the City Council again assembled, and in conformity with the fourth resolution, adopted at the public meeting of citizens, appointed General Hammond to deliver the funeral oration on the life, character and services of Mr. Calhoun. The following communication was then read:

Charleston, April 5, 1850.

*To the Honorable the Mayor and Aldermen:*

Gentlemen: At a meeting, held this day, of the Committee of Twenty-five, appointed by his Excellency, the Governor, to proceed to Washington to receive and bring home the remains of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, the following resolution was adopted, which is respectfully submitted for the consideration and action of your honorable body:

*Resolved*, That as it has been communicated to this committee that the Senate of the United States has made a special deputation to attend the body of Mr. Calhoun to the State of South Carolina, the Chairman of this committee be requested to communicate this information to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Charleston; and that in consequence of this information, it be respectfully suggested to the City Council to appoint a committee from the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, to co-operate with the committee of Council, in reference to such arrangements as may be necessary in connection with the expected arrival of the body of Mr. Calhoun.

DANIEL RAVENEL, *Chairman.*

Whereupon the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Mayor appoint a committee of forty citizens of the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, to co-operate with the committee from Council, in making all necessary arrangements for the reception of the remains of Mr. Calhoun.

*The duties assigned to this committee, and the completeness with which they were performed, are detailed in the interesting report of the Chairman of the Committee.

The following resolutions were also severally moved and adopted:

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of Council, the city of Charleston, the chief metropolis of the State, may, with propriety, ask for herself the distinction of being selected as the final resting place of the illustrious CALHOUN; and that the Mayor, in behalf of Council and the citizens of Charleston, be requested to communicate with the family of the deceased, and earnestly entreat that the remains of him we loved so well should be permitted to repose among us.

*Resolved*, That the Mayor be further requested to communicate with his Excellency, the Governor of the State, and respectfully solicit his co-operation in this matter.

*Resolved*, That his Honor, the Mayor, by proclamation, request the citizens of Charleston to suspend all business on the day of the arrival of the remains of our late Senator, JOHN C. CALHOUN, in order that every citizen may be able to pay a last tribute of respect to him who served us so long, so faithfully, and so well.

In conformity with the resolutions adopted by the City Council, the following committee of citizens was appointed to co-operate with the committee from Council in making arrangements incident to the occasion:

Chancellor B. F. DUNKIN,
Hon. E. FROST,
Hon. J. S. ASHE,
Hon. W. D. PORTER,
Hon. W. J. GRAYSON,
N. HEYWARD,
JAMES SIMONS,
D. E. HUGER, junr.
NELSON MITCHELL,
F. D. RICHARDSON,
W. H. HOUSTON,
J. L. PETIGRU,
F. LANNEAU,
I. W. HAYNE,
W. B. PRINGLE,
W. C. DUKES,
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
Gen. SCHNIERLE,
T. TUPPER,
ROBERT ADGER,
G. N. REYNOLDS,
W. M. LAWTON,
E. SEBRING,
ROBERT MARTIN,
DAVID LOPEZ,
Dr. BELLINGER,
J. H. LADSON,
AND. MCDOWALL,
A. J. WHITE,
W. J. BENNETT,
R. N. GOURDIN,
J. F. BLACKLOCK,
M. C. MORDECAI,
WM. LLOYD,
WM. MIDDLETON,
S. J. WAGNER,
WM. BIRD,
Dr. T. Y. SIMONS,
G. S. BRYAN,
R. W. HARE,
ALEX. GORDON,
Dr. HORLBECK,
E. L. KERRISON,
CHARLES BRENNAN.

The committee on the part of the City Council were Aldermen Banks, Gilliland, Porcher, McNellage, and Drummond.

The committee at once entered upon the varied duties assigned them —they divided themselves into sub-committees, each charged with its specific duty. The magnitude of the arrangements, the short period of time allowed for their completion, and the ultimate success that crowned the whole when put into action, attest the energy, zeal, and correct taste exercised on the occasion. A Chief Marshal, A. G. Magrath, Esq., twelve Marshals and twelve Assistant Marshals, were appointed to prepare and arrange the order of Procession. A special Guard of Honor, Col. A. O. Andrews, Chairman, was nominated, charged with the duty of being in constant attendance on the remains, to render all necessary aid in their removal, from the time of their arrival to their deposit in the City Hall. A committee, consisting of two hundred of some of the most respected citizens, the venerable Jacob Bond I'on, Chairman, was also appointed to serve as an Honorary Guard over the remains while they lay in state in the City Hall, and to distribute themselves into separate watches during the night.

In various parts of the State, public meetings were held expressive of the general grief, and deputations appointed to repair to Charleston to participate in the funeral ceremonies—to these deputations the hospitalities of the city of Charleston were tendered, through the municipal authorities, and committees appointed to meet them on their arrival, and provide for their comfort.

The Directors of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad tendered a free passage along their line, and the Steamers of the Company, to the committee appointed by the Executive of South Carolina—the friends and relatives of the deceased, and the funeral cortege that should accompany the remains—the States through which the body was to pass on its homeward way seemed with one accord to rise up and do reverence to his memory.

The boom of the signal gun over the waters of Charleston harbor, on the morning of the 25th of April, announced that the mortal remains of Carolina's great Statesman were approaching their native shores to receive the last honors of a mourning people. At 12 M., the steamer Nina, bearing the Body, touched Smith's wharf—on board were the committee of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, the committee of citizens from Wilmington, North Carolina, the committee of twenty-five from South Carolina, and the sub-committee of arrangements. The revenue cutter Gallatin, the steamers Metamora and Pilot, acting as an escort, with

colors at half mast and draped in mourning, lay in her wake. Profound silence reigned around—no idle spectator loitered on the spot—the curiosity incident to the hour was merged into a deep feeling of respect, that evinced itself by being present only where that sentiment could with most propriety be displayed. The solemn minute gun—the wail of the distant bell, the far off spires shrouded in the drapery of grief—the hearse and its attendant mourners waiting on the spot, alone bore witness that the pulse of life still beat within the city—that a whole people in voiceless woe were about to receive and consign to earth all that was mortal of a great and good citizen. The arrangements for landing having been made, the committee of reception advanced, and through its Chairman tendered a welcome, and the hospitalities of the city, to the committee of citizens from Wilmington, North Carolina, to which the Chairman of that committee feelingly responded. The body, enclosed in an iron case, partially shaped to the form, was then borne by the Guard of Honor (clad in deep mourning, with white silk scarfs across the shoulder,) from the boat to the magnificent funeral Car drawn up to receive it; the pall prepared of black velvet, edged with heavy silk fringe, and enflounced in silver, with the escutcheon of the State of South Carolina in the centre and four corners, was spread over it. The Pall Bearers, composed of twelve Ex-Governors and Lieut-Governors of the State, arranged themselves at the sides of the Car, the procession advanced, preceded by a military escort of three companies, the German Fusiliers, Washington Light Infantry, and Marion Artillery, under the command of Captain Manigault. The various committees and family of the deceased followed in carriages, the drivers and footmen clad in mourning, with hatbands and scarfs of white crape. In this order the funeral train slowly moved forward to the sound of muffled drums to the Citadel square, the place assigned in the arrangements made where the committee from the Senate of the United States would surrender the remains under their charge to the Executive of South Carolina, and the funeral procession proceed to the City Hall.

At the Citadel a most imposing spectacle was presented. The entire front and battlements were draped in mourning, and its wide portal heavily hung with black—the spacious area on the South was densely filled with the whole military force of the city drawn up in proper array; at different points, respectfully assigned them, stood the various orders of Free Masons, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Sons of Temperance, the Order of Rechabites, in their rich regalia, the different Fire Companies in uniform, the various Societies and Associations—the

pupils of public and private schools with their tutors, bearing banners inscribed with the names of the several States of the confederacy, their arms and mottoes. The Seamen, with their Pastor, Rev. Mr. Yates, bearing a banner with this inscription, "The Children of Old Ocean mourn for him"—and citizens on horse and foot. The most perfect order prevailed; no sound was heard, but the subdued murmer of the collected thousands. At the appointed hour the funeral Car slowly entered the grounds from the East, and halted before the gates of the Citadel; the hush of death brooded over all as the hearse, towering aloft, its mournful curtains waving in air, revealed to the assembled multitude the sarcophagus reposing within.

In the centre of the square, and directly fronting the gates of the Citadel, stood the Governor of the State, attended by the members of the Senate and House of Representatives and the Delegates from different sections of the State. On the right the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, habited in deep mourning, their wands of office bound with crape; on the left, the Rev. the Clergy of all denominations. In front of the funeral Car were arranged the various committees who had attended the removal of the remains from the seat of Government; at the proper moment they slowly advanced with heads uncovered, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the U. S. Senate, with his golden rod, to the spot occupied by the Governor and Suite. Alderman Banks, Chairman of the committee of Reception, stood forth, and announced to the Governor the presence of the Hon. Mr. Mason, Chairman of the Senate's committee, who, with a manner deeply solemn and impressive, thus surrendered his sacred trust:

"*Governor Seabrook:*

"The Senate of the United States, by its order, has deputed a committee of six Senators, to bring back the remains of their colleague, your illustrious statesman, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, to his native State. He fell in the fullness of his fame, without stain or blot, without fear and without reproach, a martyr to the great and holy cause to which his life had been devoted, the safety and equality of the Southern States in their federal alliance.

It is no disparagement to your State or her people, to say their loss is irreparable, for CALHOUN was a man of a century; but to the entire South, the absence of his counsels can scarcely be supplied: with a judgment stern, with decided and indomitable purpose, there was united a political and moral purity, that threw around him an atmostphere which nothing unholy could breathe and yet live. But, sir, I am not sent here to eulogize your honored dead; that has been already done

in the Senate House, with the memories of his recent triumphs there clustering around us, and by those far abler than I. It is our melancholy duty only, which I have performed on behalf of the committee of the Senate, to surrender all that remains of him on earth to the State of South Carolina, and having done this, our mission is ended. We shall return to our duties in the Senate, and those performed, to our separate and distant homes, bearing with us the treasured memory of his exalted worth and the great example of his devoted and patriotic life."

Mr Mason having concluded, Governor Seabrook responded :

"I receive, Mr. Chairman, with the deepest emotions, the mortal remains of him for whom South Carolina entertained an unbounded affection. Implicitly relying on the faithful exercise of his great moral and intellectual endowments, on no occasion, for a period of about forty years, which constituted indeed his whole political life, did her confidence in him suffer the slightest abatement. Although the spirit that animated its tenement of clay now inhabits another and a purer mansion, yet the name of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN will live while time shall be permitted to endure. That name is printed in indelible characters on the hearts of those whose feelings and opinions he so truly reflected, and will forever be fondly cherished, not only by his own countrymen, but by every human being who is capable of appreciating the influence of a gigantic intellect, unceasingly incited by the dictates of wisdom, virtue, and patriotism.

"In the name of the people of the State he so dearly loved, I tender, through you, to the Senate of the United States, their warmest acknowledgments for the honors conferred by that distinguished body on the memory of our illustrious statesman; and, by this committee, I ask their acceptance of their heartfelt gratitude for the very kind and considerate manner in which, gentlemen, the melancholy yet honorable task assigned you has been executed.

"The first of April, 1850, exhibited a scene in the halls of the Federal Congress remarkable for its moral sublimity. On that day, the North and the South, the East and the West, together harmoniously met at the altar consecrated to the noblest affections of our nature, and moved by a common impulse, portrayed in strains of fervid eloquence, before the assembled wisdom of the land, the character and services of him around whose bier we are assembled. To every member of the Senate and House of Representatives, whose voice was heard on that solemn occasion, South Carolina proffers the right hand of fellowship.

"I trust it will not be considered a departure from the strictest rules

of propriety, to say to an honorable member of Congress before me, that the Palmetto State owes him a debt of gratitude which, at her bidding, and in obedience to my own feelings, I am imperatively summoned at this time to liquidate in part. From the first day of Mr. CALHOUN'S protracted illness, to the moment when death achieved his victory, you, Mr. Venable, were rarely absent from his bed-side. With the anxious solicitude of a devoted friend, you ministered to his wants, and watched the reflux of that noble stream whose fertilizing powers were about to be buried in the great ocean of eternity. For services so disinterested, spontaneously bestowed by a stranger, I offer the tribute of thanks, warm, from overflowing hearts."

Mr. VENABLE replied:

"The manner in which your Excellency has been pleased to refer to the attention which I was enabled to bestow on our illustrious friend, has deeply affected my heart. It is but the repeated expression of the feelings of the people of Charleston, on the same subject, contained in a resolution which has reached me, and for which manifestation of kindness, I now return to you and to them my most sincere and heartfelt thanks. Nothing has so fully convinced me of the extended popularity, I should rather say, feeling of veneration, towards the statesman, whose death has called us together to-day, as the high estimate which you and your people have placed upon the services of an humble friend. Sir, the impulses of humanity would have demanded nothing less, and that man is more than rewarded who is permitted to soothe the pain or alleviate the suffering of a philosopher, sage, patriot, and statesman, so exalted above his cotemporaries, that were we not admonished by his subjection to the invasion of disease and death, we might well doubt whether he did not belong to a superior race. To be even casually associated with his memory, in the gratitude of a State, is more than a reward for any services which I could render him. Sir, as his life was a chronicle of instructive events, so his death but furnished a commentary on that life. It is said of Hampden, when in the agonies of death, rendered most painful by the nature of his wound, that he exclaimed: 'O God of my fathers, save, save my country!' thus breathing the desire of his soul on earth into the vestibule of the court of heaven. So our illustrious friend, but a few hours before his departure, employed the last effort in which he was enable to utter more than a single sentence, saying, 'If I had my health and strength to devote one hour to my country in the Senate, I could do more than in my whole life.' He is gone! and when, in my passage here, I saw the manifestations of deep feeling, of heartfelt veneration, in Virginia and

my own Carolina, I felt as one making a pilgrimage to the tomb of his father, whose sad heart was cheered by spontaneous testimonials of the merits of the one he loved and honored. But when, with this morning's dawn, I approached your harbor and saw the city in the peaceful rest of the Sabbath, heard not the stroke of a hammer or the hum of voices engaged in the business of life; when, from the deck of the steamer, in the midst of your harbor, I could descry the habiliments of mourning which consecrated your houses—the stillness—the solemn stillness spoke a language that went to my heart. But when, added to this, I behold this vast multitude of mourners, I exclaim: 'A people's tears water the dust of one who loved and served them.' No military fame was his; he never set a squadron in the field. The death of the civilian and patriot who loved his country, and his whole country, gave rise to this great demonstration of sorrow and regard. Permit me again to assure your Excellency and the people of Charleston, and of South Carolina, that I shall ever cherish, as one of the dearest recollections of my life, the expressions of kindness which have been made to me as the friend and the companion in the sick chamber of JOHN C. CALHOUN. His society and his friendship were more than a compensation for any attentions which any man could bestow. Such were his gifts, that whether in sickness or in health, no man retired from a conversation with him who was not greatly his debtor. By the courtesies of this day and the association of my name with his, I am both his debtor and yours; the sincere acknowledgment of which, I tender to your Excellency, requesting that it may be received by you, both for yourself and the people whose sovereignty you represent."

Governor Seabrook now turned to the Hon. T. Leger Hutchinson, Mayor of the city, and said:

"MR. MAYOR: I commit to your care these precious remains. After the solemn ceremonies of the day, I request that you put over them a Guard of Honor, until the hour shall arrive to consign them to their temporary resting-place."

To which the Mayor replied:

"GOV. SEABROOK: As the organ of the corporation of the city of Charleston, I receive from you, with profound emotion, the mortal remains of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN—a sacred trust, confided to us, to be retained until the desire of the people of South Carolina, expressed through their constituted authorities, shall be declared respecting their final resting-place."

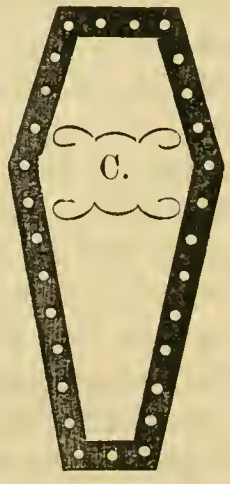
The ceremony of the reception of the body from the hands of the Senatorial committee by the Executive of the State being over, the

members constituting the civic and military portions of the solemn pageant were, with consummate skill, arranged in their respective positions by the Chief Marshal and his assistants. With order and precision each department fell into its allotted place, and the whole mass moved onward, a vast machine, obeying with perfect motion, the impulse given by the directing power.

The gates opening from the Citadel square upon Boundary street, (the name since changed to Calhoun street,) through which the procession passed, were supported on each side by Palmetto trees, draped in mourning; from the branches which over-arched the gate-way hung the escutcheon of the State; between the folds of funeral cloth, in which it was enveloped, appeared the inscription: "Carolina mourns." The following was the order and route of procession as laid down in the programme of Marshals:

Marshal.
Music.
Cavalry.
Detachment of United States Troops from Fort Moultrie, under Col. Irwin.
Troops of the 4th Brigade.
Marshal.
Sub-Committee of Ten.
Mayor and Aldermen of the City.
Funeral Car with the Body.

Special Guard of Honor.
Pall-Bearers.




Special Guard of Honor.
Pall-Bearers.

Family of the deceased.
Senate Committee, and Committee of the House of Representatives.
Committee of Twenty-five.
Committee of Pendleton.
Committee of Forty, and other Committees in attendance on the Body.

Marshal.
Music.
His Excellency the Governor, and Suite.
Foreign Consuls.
Civil and Military Officers of the United States.
Civil and Military Officers of the State of South Carolina.
Members of the Senate and House of Representatives.
Revolutionary Officers and Soldiers.
Surviving Officers and members of Palmetto Regiment.
Committees and Delegates from South Carolina, and other States.
Marshal.
Music.
Fire Department.
Marshal.
Music.
Professors and Students of the Colleges of the State and City.
Teachers and Scholars of High Schools, and of private Academies and Schools.
Teachers and Scholars of Free Schools.
Instructors and children of the Orphan House.
Marshal.
Music.
St. Andrew's Society.
St. George's Society.
South Carolina Society.
Charleston Library Society.
Fellowship Society.
German Friendly Society.
The Cincinnati.
The '76 Association.
St. Patrick's Benevolent Society.
New England Society.
Charleston Port Society.
Hibernian Society.
Medical Society.
Hebrew Orphan Society.
Mechanics' Society.
Charleston Marine Society.
Typographical Society.
Charleston Chamber of Commerce.
Hebrew Benevolent Society.

French Benevolent Society.
South Carolina Mechanics Association.
Methodist Benevolent Society.
The Bible Society.
Fourth of July Association.
The Irish Mutual Benevolent Society.
Marshal.
Music.
Order of Ancient Free Masons.
Independent Order of Odd Fellows.
Order of the Sons of Temperance.
Independent Order of Rechabites.
Marshal.
Temperance Societies.
Marshal.
Music.
Captains of Vessels.
Seamen in Port.
Marshal.
Citizens of the State, and adjoining States.
Marshal.
Citizens on Horseback.

The procession moved from the Citadel square down Boundary to King Street, down King Street to Hasell, through Hasell to Meeting Street, down Meeting to South Bay Battery, along the Battery to East Bay, up East Bay to Broad Street to the City Hall.

Along the streets through which the procession passed, the public and private buildings and temples of worship were draped with mourning, the windows and doors of the houses were closed, and no one was seen to gaze upon the spectacle; it seemed that those who did not participate directly in the obsequies, were mourning within.

When the head of the escort reached the City Hall, it halted; the troops formed into line on the South side of Broad Street, facing the City Hall. The funeral car, drawn by six horses, caparisoned in mourning trappings that touched the ground, each horse attended by a groom clad in black, slowly moved along the line until it reached the front steps of the City Hall. The division composing the procession then passed through the space intervening between the body and the military, with heads uncovered; the Marshals having the respective divisions in charge, dismounted, and leading their horses, proceeded to the points where the divisions were to be dismissed. When the last

division had passed through, the body was then removed from the funeral car by the Guard of Honor, borne up the steps, and received at the threshold of the City Hall by the Mayor and Aldermen; it was then deposited within the magnificent catafalque prepared for its reception.

Here the body remained in state until the next day, under the special charge of the Honorary Guard of two hundred citizens, who kept watch at intervals during the day and night. Thousands of citizens and strangers of all sexes, ages and conditions in life, repaired to the City Hall to pay their tribute of respect to the illustrious dead; the most perfect propriety and decorum prevailed; the incessant stream of visiters entered by the main doors, passed upward to the catafalque, ascended, gazed upon the sarcophagus resting within, and in silence retired through the passage in the rear. The iron case that enshrined the body, and the tomb-shaped structure upon which it lay, were covered with flowers, the offerings of that gentler sex, who in sorrow had lingered around its precincts.

The ceremonies of the day completed, the various deputations and committees of this and other States, who had repaired to the city in performance of the mournful duties assigned them, were invited to the Council Chamber, where the hospitalities of the city were tendered by the municipal authorities; they were afterwards escorted to the lodgings provided for them by the committees appointed for the purpose. The committee from the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States repaired to the head quarters of his Excellency, Gov. Seabrook, where they were received and entertained as the guests of South Carolina during their stay.

The next day, the 26th of April, was appointed for the removal of the remains to the tomb. At early dawn the bells resumed their toll, business remained suspended, and all the evidences of public mourning were continued.

At 10 o'clock, a civic procession, under the direction of the Marshals, having been formed, the body was then removed from the catafalque in the City Hall, and borne on a bier by the guard of honor to St. Philip's Church; on reaching the church, which was draped in deepest mourning, the cortege proceeded up the centre aisle to a stand covered with black velvet, upon which the bier was deposited. After an anthem sung by a full choir, the Right Rev. Dr. Gadsden, Bishop of the Diocese, with great feeling and solemnity read the burial service, to which succeeded an eloquent funeral discourse by the Rev. Mr. Miles. The holy rites ended, the body was again borne by the guard of honor to the western cemetery of the church, to the tomb erected for its tem-

porary abode, a solid structure of masonry raised above the surface, and lined with cedar wood. Near by, pendent from the tall spar that supported it, drooped the flag of the Union, its folds mournfully sweeping the verge of the tomb, as swayed by the passing wind. Wrapped in the pall that first covered it on reaching the shores of Carolina, the iron coffin, with its sacred trust, was lowered to its resting-place, and the massive marble slab, simply inscribed with the name of "CALHOUN," adjusted to its position. The lingering multitude then slowly passed from the burial ground—

"And we left him alone with his glory."

The last offices of respect and veneration, such as no man ever received from the hearts and hands of Carolinians, had been rendered, but it was felt by all that no monument could be raised too high for his excellence, no record too enduring for his virtue.

"Tanto nomini nullum par elogium."

For many weeks after the interment, the marble that covered the tomb was daily strewn with roses and other fragrant flowers, and vases containing such, and filled with water freshly renewed, were placed around, the spontaneous offerings of the people. An oak, the emblem of his strength of character, was planted at the foot, and a willow, whose branches soon drooped over the grave, became a type of the general sorrow.

T. L. HUTCHINSON,
*Mayor of Charleston.*

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## RESOLUTIONS OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF CHARLESTON, IN RELATION TO THE DISPOSAL OF THE BODY OF MR. CALHOUN.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
April 5, 1850.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of Council, the city of Charleston—the chief metropolis of the State—may, with propriety, ask for herself the distinction of being selected as the final resting-place of the illustrious CALHOUN. And that his Honor, the Mayor, in behalf of Council

and the citizens of Charleston, be requested to communicate with the family of the deceased, and earnestly entreat that the remains of him whom we loved so well should be permitted to repose amongst us.

*Resolved*, That the Mayor be further requested to communicate with his Excellency, the Governor of the State, and respectfully solicit his co-operation in this matter.

From the minutes.

JAMES C. NORRIS, *Clerk of Council.*

*To his Excellency,*
*Governor Seabrook.*

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## TO T. L. HUTCHINSON, IN RELATION TO THE TEMPORARY DEPOSIT OF MR. CALHOUN'S REMAINS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Edisto Island, April 15, 1850.

*Hon. T. Leger Hutchinson,*

SIR: In my letter to you, of the 10th inst., I stated my resolution concerning the disposal of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN, on their arrival in this State.

Mr. Gourdin, on the part of the citizens of Charleston, and Mr. Banks, of the City Council, having called on me to reiterate the ardent desire of the people of your city, that the body of our illustrious statesman should temporarily be deposited in the metropolis, there to await the final action of the Legislature, it is only necessary for me to assure you, that to the wish of the sons of MR. CALHOUN, now, I believe, in Charleston, I shall most cheerfully assent. To them, therefore, I re-refer the delicate matter, in the firm persuasion that their decision will meet with universal approval.

As germain to the subject, it is proper I should repeat what I personally said to you, that whatever arrangements may be made by the people and authorities of Charleston, will be acceptable to me, without any interference on my part. I submit the mode and manner of accomplishing the object in view to their judgment.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK.

## FROM LIEUT. W. G. DeSAUSSURE, TENDERING THE SERVICES OF THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY TO GUARD THE REMAINS OF MR. CALHOUN ON THEIR ARRIVAL IN CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON, April 15, 1850.

*To his Excellency, W. B. Seabrook,*
*Governor of the State of South Carolina:*

SIR: Understanding that in the reception of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN, the military of this place will be called upon to participate in the solemn ceremonies, I beg leave respectfully to tender to you as a Guard of Honor, during the night that the remains will rest in Charleston, the Washington Artillery.

I remain, sir, very respectfully,
Your Excellency's obedient servant,
WILMOT G. DeSAUSSURE,
*Lieut. Comd'g. Washington Artillery.*

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CHARLESTON, May 6, 1850.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the congregation of St. Philip's Church, held yesterday, the 5th inst., the following resolution was unanimously adopted, which I take great pleasure in sending to you:

"*Resolved*, That the Vestry are hereby authorized to grant to the State the lot or square of land in our cemetery now occupied by the tomb of Mr. CALHOUN, if it be determined upon as his burial place; and are requested to make no charge for its occupation temporarily for the deposit of his remains, should they be removed.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
THOMAS G. PRIOLEAU.
*Chairman of the Vestry of St. Philip's Church.*

*To Robert N. Gourdin,*
*Chairman Sub-Committee, &c.*

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN RELATION TO THE DEATH OF MR. CALHOUN.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
HARRISBURG, April 22, 1850.

*His Excellency, Whitemarsh B. Seabrook,*
*Governor of the State of South Carolina.*

DEAR SIR: The accompanying Resolutions of the Legislature of this State have been presented to me for transmission to your Excellency, with a request that the same be communicated to the Legislature of South Carolina.

In performing this duty, allow me to express my personal regard for the social and public virtues of the illustrious deceased, and my deep sense of the great loss which this dispensation of Providence has inflicted upon the American Nation.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully, yours, etc.,
WM. F. JOHNSTON.

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## RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF THE HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Whereas, it has pleased an all-wise Providence to remove from the scenes of earth, one of America's most distinguished sons, whose name has been associated with her history during the last forty years, and whose distinguished talent, private virtues, and purity of character, have shed lustre on her name.

And whereas, it is becoming and proper that society, whilst humbly bowing to the dispensations of infinite wisdom, should, in such cases, testify its sense of the worth and exalted character of the illustrious deceased, by appropriate tributes of respect to his memory, forgetting all points of difference, and cherishing the recollection only of his virtues.

Be it therefore resolved unanimously by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,

That this General Assembly has heard with profound sensibility and heartfelt sorrow, of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, for whom, in his long and distinguished public career, whilst often differing from his views and policy, we have ever entertained the most profound respect; and in whose private virtues, and personal character, there has been everything to win admiration, and conciliate affection.

*Resolved*, That as a further testimony of respect for the memory of the deceased, an extract from the Journal of each House, to be signed by the Speakers, be communicated to the Governor, with a request that he forward the same to the Widow and Family of the deceased, with a letter of condolence, expressing the sincere sympathy of this General Assembly with them in this, their afflicting bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the Governor be further requested to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Governor of South Carolina, with a request that he communicate the same to the Legislature of said Commonwealth.

J. S. McCALMONT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

V. BEST,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty. WM. F. JOHNSTON.

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## NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

SENATE—*Tuesday.*—The Governor transmitted the following communication :

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Albany, April 2, 1850.

*To the Legislature :*

We learn from the public journals, that the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN died at Washington, on the morning of Sunday last. His death is an event of interest, and a source of grief to all sections of the country, in whose service nearly the whole of his active life has been spent. I believe, therefore, that I consult the public sense of propriety, not less than my own feelings, in giving you this official information of his decease.

Mr. CALHOUN became connected with the Federal Government at an early age, and died in its service. He has been a member of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Senator in Congress, and Vice President of the United States.

In each of these stations he has been distinguished for ability, integrity, and independence. He has taken a prominent part in every great question which has agitated the country during the last forty

years, and has exerted a commanding influence upon the whole course of our public policy.

In his death the nation has lost a statesman of consummate ability, and of unsullied character. It is fitting that this State should evince sorrow at his death, by such action as her Representatives may deem appropriate.

HAMILTON FISH.

Mr. Morgan offered the following resolution:

That a select committee of three be appointed on the part of the Senate, to meet with a committee on the part of the Assembly, to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the Legislature, relative to the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, and that the Senate will meet at 4 o'clock this afternoon, to hear the report of said committee.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Select Committee on the part of the Senate on the CALHOUN resolutions, are Messrs. Morgan, Man, and Babcock.

*Assembly.*

The Governor transmitted to the House a Message announcing the death of Mr. CALHOUN.

The proceedings of the Senate on this subject were read, designating a committee on the part of the Senate, and requesting a like committee on the part of the House.

Mr. Ford, after a few appropriate remarks, moved a concurrence in the resolution of the Senate.

Mr. Raymond concurred in the motion, and paid a brief tribute to the memory of the deceased, as a citizen and a statesman.

Mr. Bacon followed, conceding to Mr. CALHOUN great intellect and virtue. Messrs. Monroe and Varnum also sustained the motion.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the chair named Messrs. Ford, Monroe, Godard, Raymond, and Church, as the committee on the part of the House. Recess to 4.

*Evening Session.*

Mr. Morgan, from the Joint Select committee appointed on the Message of the Governor, announcing the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of New York have heard with deep regret, of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, United

States Senator from South Carolina; that they entertain sentiments of profound respect for the pre-eminent ability, the unsullied character, and the high-minded independence which, throughout his life, distinguished his devotion to the public service; and that they unite with their fellow-citizens throughout the Union, in deploring his death as a public calamity.

*Resolved*, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President of the Senate of the United States, with a request that the same be entered on their journal; and a copy to the Governor of the State of South Carolina, with a request that he transmit the same to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a token of respect to the memory of the deceased, the public offices be closed, and the flag at the Capitol be displayed at half mast for twenty-four hours, and that the Senate do now adjourn.

The same resolutions were passed by the Assembly, which also adjourned.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF MR. CALHOUN.

At a stated meeting of the New York Historical Society, held at its rooms in the New York University, on Tuesday evening, the 2nd day of April, 1850, the Hon. Luther Bradish, President, presiding,

Dr. Alexander H. Stephens announced the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, in the following words:

*Mr. President:* This is a time of gloom. Yesterday, over our public edificies, the national flag, half hoisted, drooped heavily—its stars obscured. A public calamity was indicated. It was the death of Mr. CALHOUN. His home, sir, was nearly one thousand miles distant. Who will so far forget the Roman maxim, as to despair of the Republic when there is such sympathy between its remote members? It is an evidence of unity, and every expression of it is a new bond of union.

I have risen, Mr. President, to move that the death of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN be entered upon your journal, with the expression of the profound veneration entertained by this Society for his high character, his unsurpassed abilities, and his pre-eminent public services. The name of CALHOUN is historical; it is mete that an historical society should mark its estimate of his character. His was a beacon light to a wide-spread region: lofty, pure, and brilliant. Long the guide of anxious patriotism, it will be seen no more forever.

Let it be permitted even to me, sir, to mingle private grief with universal public mourning. While yet a stripling at Yale, I hung upon the first lispings of his young eloquence, and marked with admiration the intellectual vigor of the new grown Hercules. In after life, College recollections were a cord of friendship between us, no strand of which was ever broken. We are told by his friend, Mr. Holmes, that he early read the Bible. Your venerable predecessor, the illustrious Gallatin, was also early brought up in the study of that sacred volume, and lived to know its value. He declared to me, and charged me to say to Gen. Taylor, that he rejoiced in his election, that he occupied a position on which all patriots, all good men, all christian men, could rally around and support him. The facts I state go to show the value of the early study of the Bible as a means of intellectual culture.

Gallatin, tracing his ancestry some centuries back, to a Syndic of Geneva, loved to speak of his maternal parentage; so too, CALHOUN referred with pride to the Caldwell stock, to which his mother belonged. Who does not remember the mother of the Gracchi, and of Napoleon? Sir, if we would improve our race, we should develope the moral and intellectual faculties of our daughters.

The affection of Mr. CALHOUN for his family, his friends, his State, and his section, was so warm as to become, perhaps, too exclusive. Distant friends so thought, and blamed him; they did not know the temptations to which he yielded.

In heart, Mr. CALHOUN was a Raphael, in mind, a Michael Angelo. As an orator and a Cabinet Minister, his most marked features were his power of condensation and of organization. In the first, he had no equal; in the last, since the days of Hamilton, our country has not seen his superior. When he entered the War Department, where he passed the most useful lustrum of his life, order came out of chaos. The incidents of his death suggest a comparison with Chatham. They were alike self-reliant, fearless, incorruptible. But CALHOUN sought only results, Chatham sometimes studied display. One looked only to the matter in hand, the other also to himself. In manner and diction, CALHOUN was ever severely plain. Chatham, in style, was often ornate—in manner, gorgeous. Chatham's inconsistency was in sentiment and action, and it was palpable. CALHOUN, ever consistent in action, was only over refined and subtle in argument. More uniformly than Chatham, he prized true greatness above the trappings of office and of title. In other points of view, CALHOUN was like only unto himself. Had he been forced to act more and think less, the world would have seen in him a more useful, perhaps an unequalled, man.

As a medical man, I am so presumptuous as to suggest this opinion: Mr. CALHOUN'S death (I speak not of the occasion, but the cause of it,) was an intellectual death. An overworked mind dwelling too long on its one object—on its one thought—his country. The rapid current, ever running in one narrow channel, deepened its bed, until the banks caved in, and a scene of desolation succeeded to the fair landscape. What a lesson to intense thinkers! But other landscapes in the skies shall be formed by its waters, and they shall descend again and purify the air. Even so may his fall purify the political atmosphere.

I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the death of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN be entered upon the journal of this Society, with the expression of the profound veneration entertained by it for his high character, his unsurpassed abilities, and his pre-eminent public services.

The resolution, seconded by J. DePeyster Ogden, Esq., and responded to by the Rev. Dr. DeWitt, was passed unanimously; and

The Society then adjourned.

Extract from the minutes.

ANDREW WARNER, *Recording Secretary.*

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## GOVERNOR SEABROOK TO HON. R. BARNWELL RHETT.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
CHARLESTON, April 11, 1850.

DEAR SIR: Your intimate relations with Mr. CALHOUN, thorough knowledge of his history, and ability to discharge the honorable trust, have induced me to request that you will, before the Legislature, at its next session, on a day convenient to yourself, deliver an oration on the life, character and public services of the deceased.

With sentiments of respect,
I remain your obedient servant,
WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK.

*R. Barnwell Rhett, Esq.*

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## HON. R. B. RHETT TO GOVERNOR SEABROOK.

THE OAKS, April 18, 1850.

DEAR SIR: I received by the last mail the request of your Excellency, that I would deliver, before the Legislature of the State at its next sit-

ting, an oration on the life, character and services of Mr. CALHOUN. After the able and eloquent pens which have been and will be employed on this distinguished theme, I may not be able to produce anything novel or interesting, beyond what the theme itself will naturally occasion. But your object is to do honor on the part of the State to the illustrious dead. Heartily sympathizing with this object, I will co-operate with your Excellency to the extent of my ability, and accept the appointment.

Believe me, dear sir,
Your most humble,
and obedient servant,
R. B. RHETT.

*To his Excellency, Governor Seabrook.*

# BARNWELL'S SERMON.

A Caution against Human Dependence. A Sermon delivered in St. Peter's Church, Charleston, on Sunday, the 7th of April 1850, by Wm. H. Barnwell, Rector of St. Peter's; on the occasion of the death of the Hon. John C. Calhoun. Published by Request.

Isaiah, 2-22.—"*Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

The name of this Prophet, Isaiah, literally the Salvation of God, expresses the chief topics of his predictions—the coming of the Messiah, and the deliverance it was to accomplish. His disclosures of the birth, person, sufferings, and glory of the Redeemer, are so vivid and full, as to entitle him to the name of the Evangelic Seer. His vision overleaps time and space, and places before himself and his hearers, events to occur in periods and countries exceedingly remote. The general scope of his writings, was to rebuke the sins, not only of Judah, but of the ten tribes of Israel and the Gentiles; to invite persons of every rank and nation to repentance, by promises of pardon and peace; and to comfort the truly pious (in the midst of all the calamities and judgments denounced against the wicked) with prophetic assurances of the true Messiah, which in their distinctness seem almost to anticipate the Gospel History.

The particular prophetic discourse from which the text is taken, includes the second, third, and fourth chapters of this Sacred writer; and while the kingdom of the Messiah, and the conversion of the Gentiles are foreshown in the former part of it, the punishment of the unbelieving Jews, for their idolatrous practice, their confidence in their own strength, and distrust of God's protection; the destruction of idolatry consequent to the coming of Christ; the calamities of the Babylonian invasion and captivity; together with an amplification of the distress of the proud and luxurious daughters of Zion, would form a picture utterly appalling, but for the promises, with which it closes, to the remnant who shall have escaped, of a future restoration to the favor and protection of God.

It is in the midst of the minatory part of these prophetic announcements, that the inspired bard, in the peculiarly parabolic style of

Hebrew poetry, which under images taken from things natural, artificial, religious, and historical, exhibits things divine, spiritual, moral, and political, utters one of the most striking descriptions of the abasement of human pride before the majesty of Jehovah, that the mind of man has ever conceived and given expression to.

"*Enter into the Rock! and hide thee in the dust,*
*For fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his Majesty.*
*The lofty looks of man shall be humbled,*
*And the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down,*
*And the Lord alone, shall be exalted in that day,*
*For the day of the Lord of Hosts shall be*
*Upon every one that is proud and lofty,*
*And upon every one that is lifted up, and he shall be brought low;*
*And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up,*
*And upon all the oaks of Bashan,*
*And upon all the high mountains,*
*And upon all the hills that are lifted up,*
*And upon every high tower,*
*And upon every fenced wall,*
*And upon all the ships of Tarshish,*
*And upon all pleasant pictures.*
*And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down,*
*And the haughtiness of man shall be made low;*
*And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day,*
*And the idols He shall utterly abolish.*
*And they shall go into the holes of the rocks,*
*And into the caves of the earth,*
*For fear of the Lord, and for the glory of His Majesty,*
*When He ariseth to shake terribly the earth.*
*In that day, a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold,*
*Which they made, each one for himself to worship,*
*To the moles and to the bats;*
*To go into the clefts of the rocks,*
*And into the tops of the ragged rocks,*
*For the fear of the Lord, and for the glory of His Majesty,*
*When he ariseth to shake terribly the earth.*"

Then, as if to intimate that God's judgment was provoked by an idolatrous dependence upon human means, he cautions them against this, in the words before us:

"*Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils;*
*For wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

We have here then, a solemn remonstrance against undue reliance

upon man, based upon his mortality and insufficiency. And the use to be made of it is, I presume, anticipated by you.

The nation seems to feel afflicted, and our commonwealth mourns over her departed statesman, like a mother over an only son. Whatever prejudices may have prevailed against him during his life, are apparently dispersed by the stroke of that Divine hand which has removed him from earth; and those who, in the discharge of their public duties, had felt themselves constrained to differ from him most widely, have seemed to take a mournful satisfaction in proffering their prompt and decided testimony to the purity of his character, and the greatness of his abilities.

You will not, of course, expect me, either to touch upon party politics, or to attempt anything like a eulogy of the illustrious dead. The pulpit is certainly not the appropriate place for political discussions; nor is there any disposition on my part to interfere at present with the allotted province of others, by obtruding upon you my own views, either of the great questions which have agitated the nation, since this distinguished statesman entered upon public life, or of the course he has pursued in reference to them.

My object is, only as your Minister, to improve to your spiritual good, a striking event in the Providence of God, which has probably occupied more of your thoughts and conversation, since last we met, than any other subject, unconnected with your personal concerns.

One who is set as a watchman upon the Towers of Zion, ought not to be an unobservant or uninterested spectator of events which engross the public mind. Hoping to influence for God, as it is his province to do, so far as he may, the wills of his hearers; and expecting to accomplish this pious end by appeals to their understandings and their hearts; it is important that he should not only be familiar with the intellectual and emotional nature of man in general; but that for the timely inculcation of Divine Truth, he should avail himself of any insight he may obtain into the particular state of mind and feeling which passing occurrences produce, either in his own congregation or in the community at large. "*A word spoken in due season, how good is it.*"

That there is needed at present, throughout our Union, a solemn remonstrance against an undue reliance upon human abilities, whether to devise plans for the better government of mankind, or to carry them into operation, can scarcely be questioned; and if the death of one whose profound political sagacity was universally acknowledged, and whose noble, devoted patriotism has been signally evinced for so long a period, shall have the effect of turning the confidence of the people from

man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and who in his highest and best developments of mental power is but little to be accounted of, to God who liveth forever, and who only is a *present help in every time of need;* the loss, which not only our native State, but the civilized world, has sustained in this afflictive event, will be more than compensated.

The Jews, to whom Isaiah's warning was delivered, were prone to rely upon their alliances with the surrounding heathen nations, the Egyptians, Syrians, and Assyrians, instead of confiding in their own covenant God; and His jealously, which is represented in Scripture as one of His chief though most terrible attributes, is thus incessantly exasperated against them. "*The Egyptians,*" saith He, in a woe denounced against this practice, through this same Prophet, Isaiah, "*The Egyptians, are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit. When the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down; and they shall all fail together.*"

It can scarcely be charged upon the people of these United States that they are inclined to rely upon any foreign power for aid; or that they are tempted to forget God, by entanglements with the affairs of other nations. In this respect, the counsel of him who has justly been called the Father of his Country, has been in general complied with; though a political philosopher who should attempt to trace our last war with Great Britain to its hidden springs, may perhaps discover some of them in the sympathies by which the two great parties that divided the country had become respectively attached to France and England, the chief belligerents of the day.

But whether as a nation we are not withdrawn from a proper dependence upon the Almighty, by an extravagant estimate of ourselves, is a question which, it is to be feared, even the most overweening admirer of our country would be constrained to settle against us. Nor is there reason to hope that the jealousy of the Great Sovereign of the Universe, will be less provoked by an estrangement from Him, which results out of an undue dependence upon talent, education, attainment, experience, skill, popular opinion, and our Federal and State Constitutions, than by those Heathenish alliances which were the great source of idolatry on the part of the Jews.

Not that these things are unimportant in their place; or are not to be oftentimes regarded as the grounds for devout gratitude to God. Who that contemplates with the most sober consideration, that innate force of the human mind, which inclines it spontaneously to the easy acquisition of knowledge, or the successful execution of practical affairs, but must admire its mysterious power? And who that witnesses the

steady but almost miraculous results of education, applying as it were a vegetative principle to the mental faculties, and causing them to grow, bud, blossom, and bear fruit, can fail to appreciate it highly, as a most efficient instrumentality? Or who can reflect upon the immense power derived from knowledge; putting one man in possession of the experience of ages—or who can turn his thoughts to the vast advantages of experience; judging of men and things, not upon the vague basis of conjecture, but upon the certain conclusions of one who has tried them —or who can observe the consummate effects of skill, marshalling and arranging the substances of matter, or the principles of nature, or the thoughts of the mind, nay, and often the purposes and actions of men in a wonderful manner? Who can take such a view of these advantages, without being thankful that the Ruler of the Universe has bestowed them so largely upon our fellow-countrymen? Or who can notice without awe, the insensible, yet tremendous agency of popular opinion, heaving like some billow, from shore to shore? Or who can examine the admirably contrived and beautifully balanced system of our great Federal Republic, without regarding it as a model for all men capable of self-government, and desiring not only its perpetuity here, but its extension everywhere? Yet to one of spiritual discernment, all of these blessings with which we have been so highly favored by a beneficent Providence, may clearly appear to have become idols; and it may be justly said—not only of the more worldly and sensual, but of the more refined and intellectual and virtuous and patriotic—

> *"They worship the work of their own hands,*
> *That which their own fingers have made."*

In the history of nations, as of individuals, there occur critical periods, when the most important consequences hang upon particular acts, which impart to the future its cast and color. That such a crisis is at hand in our national affairs, seems to be the general apprehension; and that one, who of all others was the best qualified in talent, education, knowledge, experience, skill, control over popular opinion, and familiarity with the principles of the Confederacy, to give direction to affairs, should be struck down in his sphere of high and responsible duty, just at the time when his services were most needed, and when, too, according to his own calm judgment, as expressed but the evening before his death, he could accomplish more good, by an hour's speech, than he had ever done before, seems a forcible illustration of the Prophet's warning to cease relying upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils.

Nor is it probable that had his valuable life been prolonged, and health been restored to him, he would have been able to produce the effect he desired and toiled for. It seems incidental to the very nature of Republican governments, that public men of extraordinary ability and sterling integrity, should be viewed with jealousy, not only by those whose political views and interests differ from theirs, but by those who in the main agree with them. Hence, statesmen of the first order have been frequently superseded by persons far inferior, but from circumstances more popular. It cannot be doubted that the deceased was regarded with the more jealousy out of his native State, on account of the unbounded influence which for so long a time he had enjoyed within it. By both of the political parties he was looked upon as one who would not hesitate, in any public emergency that seemed to demand it, to act an independent part. By both of the sections, North and South, he was regarded as standing somewhat in the way of some present or prospective favorite candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the Union. So that even of him, who had made Government, especially our own Constitutional Government, his ardent and laborious study; who had filled, with the most signal success and spotless purity, most of the highest offices of that government; who carried habitually into every duty that he undertook, a lofty enthusiasm, a comprehensive forecast, an intrepid purpose, and an indefatigable assiduity, even of him so profound, so experienced, so honored, and so efficient, there is reason to think that many who could not but admire him, were beginning to say with the Prophet, "*wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

The reciprocal attachment between himself and his native State—one of the most remarkable features of his character and circumstances of his life—should impress with peculiar force upon her citizens the necessity of ceasing from man.

True, he never forsook, never betrayed her. Never ceased to watch over her political welfare with a sleepless vigilance—never failed to warn her of even distant danger—never hesitated to front every foe that assailed her, and to sacrifice freely in her cause every high hope of personal ambition. If ever there was a statesman, who in that stern and hazardous, yet necessary warfare of politics, where so many of the greatest talents and experience have suffered themselves to be frightened from their steadfastness, or corrupted from their integrity, or enticed from their devotion—if ever there was a statesman who could claim from his constituents entire confidence, the voice of South Carolina, not sobbing as it now is over his loss, but in the firm and unaltered tones of more than forty years' proud and affectionate reliance, proclaims

—this was he. And yet see the vanity of making man our stay! His breath flickers from his nostrils, when most needed to make his last appeal in her cause; and into that hall which had been to him the field of so many intellectual battles—less bloody it is true, but not less severe and galling than those of the sword—he is brought forth like a slain, but unconquered hero, stretched upon his bier.

If there be no impropriety in so applying the touching passage of Scripture, it seems to me our beloved commonwealth might be personified as the Royal Minstrel of Israel uttering that pathetic lamentation over his best earthly friend.

> *"How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!*
> *O Jonathan! thou wast slain in thine high places.*
> *I am distressed for thee my brother Jonathan:*
> *Very pleasant has thou been unto me.*
> *Thy love to me was wonderful,*
> *Passing the love of women,*
> *How are the mighty fallen.*
> *And the weapons of war perished!"*

He does not seem to me to have studied profoundly either the nature of man, or the characteristics of the age, who is not ready to acknowledge the vast ascendency of energy over numbers, of mind over matter, of virtue over everything else; and glancing back upon the history of our common country for the last forty years, and inquiring into the causes of that immense influence which our great Statesman exerted, we shall discover an illustration of these truths, so important, not only to the political and social, but to the moral welfare, both of the public and of individuals. Had he been the citizen of a large and populous State, whose votes in the Electoral College might have settled almost any Presidential question; or had he been possessed of great wealth, which, with shame be it spoken, exercises but too potent a sway over the people; or had he condescended to those arts of chicanery, by which popularity is too often obtained; we might the less wonder at the almost magical power which for so long a time he wielded. But his native State was comparatively small and feeble—bright, it is true, in the waning prestige of Revolutionary glory, and in the character of many of her living sons; but yet gradually losing her rank in the scale of confederated constellations, as State after State emerged from the horizon and ascended above her. His private means were always limited; probably, never more than enough to sustain and educate his family. His lofty scorn of everything mean and debasing, kept him aloof from the

petty intrigues of personal and party politics. Yet what a vast place has he filled in the public history of his generation, and what a strong impulse has his genius given to the spirit of his age—that invisible, impalpable, but mighty influence which pervades and moulds, and in the end, controls affairs. Whence was this? Even his enemies will be now ready to ascribe it to his mind, his energy, his virtue. And when they say this, they not only place his character upon the firmest and loftiest human pedestal, but they render, involuntarily perhaps, a high homage to the Deity while they add force and emphasis to the Prophet's warning: "*Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

It would be treason to natural as well as revealed religion not to maintain the legitimate supremacy of intellect, will, and benevolence. Fame would be worthless, nay, would be pernicious, if accorded to one who could lay no claim to these. But God and man concur in this; that without a mind to discern duty, and without a purpose to perform it, and above all, without a heart disinterestedly to desire its performance, none can be fully qualified for that proper fulfilment of high and responsible offices which in all ages and nations entitles one to the confidence of his contemporaries and the praises of posterity. You need not be informed that God is the author and preserver of every clear and vigorous mind, of every firm and energetic will, and of every virtuous and benevolent emotion. The student of Scripture, and the mere observer of human conduct, however they differ in other things, probably agree in ascribing ultimately to the Deity not only many of the results of human actions, but much that contributes to the formation of individual character. Nor can any but an Atheist contemplate such a life as that we are noticing, without perceiving what the deceased himself believed in, the controlling influence of a Divine mind, and a particular Providence fulfilling all events, and shaping all characters according to an infinitely wise and good and fore-ordained plan. To conceive of a mind like that of the deceased, being instituted by chance; or to conceive of his purposes, fraught as they have been with momentous consequences, being determined without God; or to conceive of his virtuous principles being formed, and his kind emotions being exercised without any control whatever from Him in "*whose hands are the hearts of all men as streams of water;*" would be as contrary to the deductions of sound philosophy as to the teachings of Scripture. If, in any piece of complicated machinery, you should perceive a combination of powers directed with force to one end, and that end a useful one, would you not laugh to scorn the impertinence, whether learned or simple, which

should attempt to convince you, that natural laws merely, and not mind —accident, and not design—curiosity, and not the desire of usefulness —had wrought such an instrument? If you beheld a body of troops, composed of the various kinds of the service, performing with mechanical, almost noiseless precision, a great variety of military evolutions; would you not smile at the childlike simplicity which would surmise that each weapon, and each war-horse, and each rank, and each man, was moved by some magical or some independent influence; and not that there was one commanding mind, who had settled it all at his council board, and was reviewing his machinery to see how it worked? And if you saw a terrible yet grand mass of living valor like this, glowing to evince its skill, not on mere fields of sport, but on the bloody arena of battle, against those who were conceived to be enemies; should you see a large, well disciplined, well officered army, red hot for war, restrained in the desired work of destruction or invasion, and reserved only for purposes of peace and usefulness, you would wonder at the perverseness which ascribed so beneficial and humane and philanthropic a result, to any but a good motive on the part of him who originated it. The wisdom, the energy, the humanity, which would be conspicuous in one who, deeming an efficient army necessary for the safety of his country, prepares one, and then, when it had been prepared, advocates peace would command forever the world's admiration. It will be for the eulogist of this departed son of South Carolina—with the blood of revolutionary heroes in his veins—born and living among scenes teeming with traditions of British cruelty—bred in habits of hardy independence, which looked only at the end, and despised intervening obstacles —entering upon public life at a time when the women of our country glowed at the insults which the haughty cross of St. George, dominant on every wave, inflicted upon the Eagle; and when "*Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*" was the watch-word of our very boys—having carried by his immense influence, against an old and talented, and most respectable party, the party of Washington himself, the party of the leading minds in his own native State, measures preliminary to the declaration of war with England—having conducted with triumphant executive ability, in the face of immense difficulties, the hostilities to a prosperous close—having re-organized the War Department with wonderful method and efficiency—having contributed to develope all the resources of the country even at the expense of the General Revenue, and at the sacrifice of some of his cherished political theories—having previously favored the acquisition of new territory—and having just completed the annexation of Texas, through his jealousy of British interference—it will be

for the eulogist of Mr. CALHOUN to say how much credit he ought to receive on the score of philanthropy, when thus descended, thus trained, thus stimulated to war with England by all the associations of the past, and perhaps all the prospects of personal elevation for the future—he stood forth in the Senate Chamber—on the Oregon Question—and against his party, advocated peace. But I refer to the subject now, not so much to excite in your minds admiration for the dead—though trusting as I do, that the time will come, referred to by Isaiah in the very chapter before us, when

> "*Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares,*
> *And their spears into pruning hooks,*
> *When nation shall not lift up sword against nation,*
> *Neither shall they learn war any more.*"

I doubt not this instance of wise and strong and humane forbearance will beam forth among the brightest of history. I refer to it, however, for the purpose of awakening gratitude to God, and cautioning you not to rely upon man, but upon Him concerning whom the Psalmist has declared, "*The shields of the earth belong unto God; He is greatly exalted.*" To admire the character and conduct of the human instrument, who under such circumstances served to protect our country and Great Britain, nay, our common humanity from such a war, and yet to withhold admiration from that exalted Being, upon whom that instrument professedly relied, and who, unquestionably, had both prepared him for that crisis, and that crisis for him would be as illogical as irreligious. I do not say that we have any right to withhold from the man, the praise which is justly due to him for his foresight and firmness and enlarged benevolence. What, as God's minister, I claim, is, that the Chief Supreme Honor of making the man what he was, and enabling him to act as he did, be ascribed to Him—and what I entreat of you is, be persuaded by the very case before us, to cease from man, *for wherein is he to be accounted of?* Lauded as the humanity of our Statesman was, for acting so nobly as a "shield" against war with England, and for attempting to prevent, and bring to a close that with Mexico, still, when after a life spent, not in the service of the South, but of the whole Union—with a frame broken down by Senatorial toils, and burnt out by the workings of its ardent and patriotic spirit—with a foresight acknowledged to be almost prophetic, he implores—with confessions of weakness, which coming from such a source, ought to have proved overpowering—one section of his country to forbear from aggressions

upon the chartered Institutions of the other—Institutions among which many of our noblest and best men had grown up, had lived and died—Institutions which, he had proved to demonstration, were essential to the very existence of the inferior race subject to them, and without which, he had conclusively shown, that the prosperity of the whole country, and the cause of civilization would be thrown back—when, with almost dying lips, nay, through the lips of another, for his own were too feeble for the utterance of his last weighty charge, he solemnly implored forbearance and the preservation of constitutional equality, he is censured even by some of his political friends, and his enlarged humanity and conservative wisdom, misconstrued into self-interest and sectional prejudice, by the most generous of his opponents. "*Cease ye then from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

The infinite disparity which exists between the mind, will, and excellence of man, even in his highest condition, and those of God, should impress upon all the admonition of the text.

The human mind is, unquestionably, an object of great interest, and a source of immense power. When originally large and strong, and fully developed and disciplined, it sets man upon an eminence only little lower than the angels. It looks intuitively not only into the nature of things around, but into its own nature, and aspires to know somewhat of the nature of God. It analyses, not only material, but immaterial objects. It investigates, not only the laws which regulate matter, and ascertains and establishes the principles of natural science, but it searches with deep and earnest scrutiny those still more hidden laws which govern the political state, and forms and arranges the difficult science of government. None of the pursuits of the human mind ought to be discouraged or despised. But next to Theology, the science of the soul, and Metaphysics, the science of the mind, Government is entitled to be regarded as the most noble and dignified study, whether we view the materials upon which it works, the mental powers it demands, or the momentous results that flow from it. While the Naturalist is classifying the physical world; informing us of the nature and habits and qualities of objects animate and inanimate which belong to our globe; the Political Philosopher contemplates the History of Nations, diving down into the fundamental principles upon which generations of the human race have been governed, and determining the conditions upon which rational and intelligent beings, having emerged from the savage state, have been enabled to live together in harmony, and prosper in political union.

When a mind of high order, qualified by nature and education and experience for such a study, puts forth its powers in close application, it is engaged in a work that tasks it to the utmost, and the conclusions to which it comes must be regarded with great deference, so long as man continues to be the subject of Government. The welfare of the remotest nations, that important welfare which consists in good government, may be affected by its labors. In the judgment of mankind, those minds which have toiled successfully in these pursuits, have ranked among the highest and noblest. Their abstractions and theories sway multitudes, long after they are departed. But compare with the greatest of these, the Divine mind, and how infinite the disparity! Conceive, as far as you can, of this Mind of Minds—Original—Omniscient—One—enthroned in Eternity; and planning in the counsel of the mysterious Trinity in Unity, the Constitution and Government not of all mankind only, but of Angels and Arch-Angels—nay, arranging with infallible precision how fallen men are to be redeemed, and revolted spirits to be controlled—how innumerable myriads of rational, free, responsible beings, in Heaven, on earth, and under the earth, are to be so swayed and directed forever, as to bring most glory to God, and most good to His elect!

Follow the movements of this inconceivable Mind; see it inspiring the Prophets, raising up Judges, and Rulers, and Teachers of Righteousness—see it preparing those who were to build up and destroy Heathen Kingdoms—making use of Philosophers, Orators, Poets, and Lawgivers—wielding to its purposes the swords of conquerors, the enterprise of voyagers, the ingenuity of inventors, the genius of artists, and the policy of cabinets—nay, pervading, informing, and governing every other mind in the whole Moral Dominion! Think of this, and say whether such a mind may not justly warn you to cease from all dependence upon created intelligences, and to trust implicitly upon its wisdom and counsel.

But the measureless superiority of God's power over all human energy, should conduct us to the same conclusion.

Not that in the conduct of human affairs, that hidden force, that power of will is to be despised, which, when it has an end to accomplish, turns the very elements into its servants, and converts obstacles into the means of success. Invested with executive power, this energy of purpose achieves results almost supernatural. Order is educed out of confusion, promptness supplants delay, vigor expels inertness, prosperity overspreads the gloomy face of everything, and that cheerful confidence, so essential to success, and which grows out of a mutual

consciousness of power, fills every bosom. Such is the effect which a strong and active will, guided by an intelligent mind, exerts almost instantaneously upon human affairs.

But how can we compare this with the Almighty power and irresistible energy of God? Unseen except in its results—Omnipresent, filling all space at one and the same time—coming into contact with every being, and every object, every instant; and giving to all not only their motive powers, their inherent forces, but their very existence—entering insensibly into the very spirits of men and Angels, and imparting their impulses—riding upon the wings of the winds—sweeping onward in the flames of fire—breathing in the storm—teeming in the vegetative principle—working in the laws of gravitation—flashing in the electric fluid—operating in every way that can be conceived of—what limit is there to the power of God? How entire, then, should be our dependence upon him! How singular to rely upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and whose energy, if not wasted by disease or indolence, is utterly extinguished by death! How strange the infatuation to trust in man, and not in God, whose power is infinite, incomprehensible, irresistible, universal, perpetual.

But the Divine goodness, as compared with that of the best of men, renders still more impressive the warning of the text. It is not necessary to deny to many, whose souls do not seem to be spiritually renewed, a natural benevolence and kindness, and an enlarged philanthropy, which prompt them not only to fulfil the offices of affection to their friends and families, but to seek to promote the happiness and welfare of the world at large. Sacrifices of time, and thought, and ease, and comfort, and even of influence and personal aggrandizement, are thus often made for the service, not of one's self, but of others, strangers it may be, or enemies. The beneficent fruits of human kindness are chiefly to be seen and felt in the domestic and friendly circle; but they are not confined there. There is often in minds of the highest order and greatest energy, a strong and earnest desire to promote the happiness of all; and in public measures which are suspected of being set on foot chiefly for personal or party purposes, there is often a broad and deep under-current of good feeling and wholesome benevolence, which coming from God, and benefiting man, ought not to be disparaged. Indeed, without some degree of goodness and benevolence, a character is exceedingly defective, and unworthy of confidence. Philanthropy—true, intelligent, considerate, warm, yet sober philanthropy—lies at the foundation of both public and private virtue. Kindness, genuine kindness, is the social bond of nations and communities, as well as families. Love,

pure, fervent love, is the badge of Christian discipleship. And thanks be to God, our earth and our country are still blessed and adorned with many examples of these beneficent emotions. But contrast with them all, not only that now are, but that have ever been, the goodness and loving kindness of God! Is it necessary that I shall dwell upon these? Need I do more than simply advert to them? Are you not as familiar with my views and feelings on this grand and inspiring, yet melting theme, as with the names of your friends and children? What has my ministry been among you, from the first time it began, until this day? What is it now? What is it hereafter to be, but an attempt, earnest, sincere, yet too often fruitless attempt, to exhibit to you the wonderful love of God as evinced in the gift of His Son? What theme has been brought to your notice so constantly as the amazing goodness of God, which beams forth from the doctrine of a Crucified Redeemer—a Messiah, coming to conquer not by the sword, but by suffering—a Prince of Peace—preserving and restoring harmony between God and His Moral Intelligencies—not by intrigue, not by deception, not by a surrender of any of the Majesty of the Godhead, or of any of the moral and intellectual privileges of man, but by a Mediation based upon his own sacrificial death, and perfect obedience—a King of Kings—reigning not over the mere persons and property, but over the hearts of his people—a Comforter of the afflicted—teaching them not to forget their sorrows or drown them in dissipation and business, but to cast them upon him—a Friend to sinners—assuring them of forgiveness, if they repent and trust in Him—a Helper to the poor and needy, and despised and injured, pointing them to his own earthly condition, who, *though rich, became poor, that they through his poverty might be made rich;* and promising them, if faithful, a seat and crown at His side on His glorious Throne.

If all that, as God's minister, and your servant for Christ's sake, I have said to you upon the warranty of the Holy Scriptures, of the Divine Goodness and Love in Christ, has not satisfied you of its all-sufficiency as a foundation for your reliance—let me then, this day, entreat you, in all the emergencies and perplexities, whether political, ecclesiastical, social or personal, that may arise and annoy you, listen to the voice of God through the Prophet—"*Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

Whether as a judgment for our public and private transgressions, God in his Providence means to shake in our hitherto happy and united country the political heavens and earth, as He has done in Europe, and abase before His Majesty here, as he has done there, the high per-

sonages and offices which have been lifting up their heads against him —it is not for us to know. At least, let us bear in mind that in such distressing agitations, the Rock that we are to get into is the Rock of Ages, based upon the eternal counsel of God, and sheltering all who resort to it, by the covenanted Wisdom, Power, and Love of the one only and true God, the Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity! That the family of the deceased, and all in our native State, and our whole country, who lament his removal from earth, may be led to trust in his Great and Adorable Being, is my fervent prayer.

# THORNWELL'S SERMON.

Thoughts suited to the Present Crisis: A Sermon, on occasion of the Death of Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, preached in the Chapel of the South Carolina College, April 21, 1850. By JAMES H. THORNWELL, Professor of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity. (Published by the Students.)

"Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the Earth; serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling."—PSALM ii: 10–11.

Three weeks ago this day, as the first bell was giving us the signal to prepare for assembling ourselves in the house of God, for the purpose of rendering our morning homage to the Father of all mercies, a spirit endeared to us by many ties was winging its flight to the eternal world. That bell which summoned us to prayer seems to have kept time with his expiring breath—and before we had gathered ourselves in this hall, or assumed the devout posture of worshippers, South Carolina's honored son, and one of America's distinguished statesmen, was numbered with the dead. On the wings of lightning the sad intelligence was borne to us. The feeling of every heart was that a great man had fallen—and, perhaps, few were so hardened as not to acknowledge, at least for the moment, that in this death there was a message of God to the people, the councils and rulers of this land. Death, it is true, is no rare visitor in this world of sin—and a refined skepticism might suggest that, as there was nothing extraordinary in the case before us, of an old man, enfeebled by disease and wasted by intellectual toil, sinking beneath the burden of infirmity and care—nothing extraordinary in the nature or operations of the malady which brought him to his end, that we should undertake to make nothing of it but the natural operation of natural causes. Some may complacently tell us that a great man has sickened—a great man has died—a star has been struck from the firmament—and its light is lost. We may speculate upon the probable effects of the phenomenon—as we speculate upon any other important event—but it is the weakness of superstition and credulity to find in it any immediate interposition of God.

Fortified as this species of skepticism may be by a shallow philosophy, there is something in the time and circumstances of the death we have assembled to contemplate, and the position and relations of the

distinguished victim, that will make the heart play truant to the head, and extort the confession of the Egyptian Magicians, that the finger of God is here. Behold the time! Never in the annals of our confederacy has there been a more critical period than this. Never has a Congress met under circumstances so full of moment and responsibility. Never has the Senate of these United States been called to deliberate on questions so solemn and eventful as those which were before it when our Senator received the mandate that his work was done. To my mind nothing less than the problem of national existence is involved in the issues before the councils of our country. Shall this Union, consecrated by patriot blood—founded on principles of political wisdom which the world has wondered at and admired—and which has conducted us to a pitch of elevation and of influence, which have made us a *study* among the philosophers of Europe, shall this Union—which in all our past history has been our glory and defence, be broken up—and the confederated States of this republic left to float upon the wide sea of political agitation and disorder? The magnitude of this catastrophe depends not at all upon the shock which it would give to our most cherished sentiments—upon breaking up the continuity of our national recollections and interrupting the current of patriotic emotion—though this deserves to be seriously considered. But there are deeper, more awful consequences involved. To suppose that this confederacy can be dissolved without cruel, bloody, ferocious war, terminating in a hatred more intense than any which ever yet disgraced the annals of any people—is to set at defiance all the lessons of history; and to suppose that in the present state of the world—when the bottomless pit seems to have been opened, and every pestilential vapour tainting the atmosphere—when a false philosophy has impregnated the whole mass of the people abroad with absurd and extravagant notions of the very nature and organization of society and the true ends of government—to suppose that amid this chaos of opinion, which has cursed the recent revolutions of Europe—we could enter upon the experiment of framing new constitutions without danger, is to arrogate a wisdom to ourselves to which the progress of events, in some sections of the land, shows we are not entitled. I cannot disguise the conviction that the dissolution of this Union—as a political question—is the most momentous which can be proposed in the present condition of the world. Consider the position and influence of these United States. To say that this vast republic is, under God, the arbiter of the destinies of this whole continent, that it is for us to shape the character of all America—that our laws—our institutions—our manners, must tell upon the degenerate

nations of the South, and sooner or later absorb the hardier sons of the North, is to take too contracted a view of the subject. With the Pacific on the one side and the Atlantic on the other—we seem to hold the nations in our hands. With one arm on Europe and the other on Asia, it is for us to determine the political condition of the race for ages yet to come. Our geographical position, in connection with the inventions of modern science and the improvements of modern enterprize, makes us the very heart of the world. Our life must be propelled by the oceans which engirdle our shores through every country on the globe—the beating of our pulse must be felt in every nation of the earth. We stand, indeed, in reference to free institutions and the progress of civilization, in the momentous capacity of the federal representatives of the human race.

But the accomplishment of the lofty destiny to which our position evidently calls us, depends upon union as well as progression. Our glory has departed—the spell is broken—whenever we become divided among ourselves. Ichabod may then be written upon our walls, and the clock of the world will be put back for generations and centuries. What a question, therefore, is that—whether we shall go forward in that career on which we have so auspiciously entered, and accomplish the destiny to which the providence of God seems conspicuously to have called us—or suffer the hopes of humanity to be crushed, and freedom to be buried in eternal night. It is not extravagant to fancy that we can see the unborn millions of our own descendants uniting with countless multitudes of the friends of liberty in all climes, in fervent supplications to the American Congress for the salvation of the American Union. The liberty of the world is at stake. The American Congress is now deliberating upon the civil destinies of mankind.

But the interests of freedom are not the only ones involved. The interests of religion are deeply at stake. To Britain and America, Protestant Christianity looks for her surest friends, and her most zealous and persevering propagators. With the dissolution of this Union, all our schemes of Christian benevolence and duty—our efforts to convert the world—to spread the knowledge of Christianity among all people, and to translate the Bible into all languages, must be suddenly and violently interrupted. It would be the extinction of that light which is beginning to dawn upon the millions of China—the total eclipse of that star of hope which is beginning to rise upon the isles of the sea. The consequences, civil, political, religious, which would result, not simply to *us*, but to mankind, from the destruction of this glorious confederacy, cannot be contemplated without horror—and make the present, beyond

all controversy, the most important and solemn crisis that has ever been presented in the history of our country. Such was the time. Behold now the *man!* He was precisely the individual to whom in such a crisis his own State would have most cheerfully confided her destiny. With an understanding distinguished for perspicacity—a firmness equal to any emergency—a perseverance absolutely indomitable—with a masterly intellect and a true and faithful heart, the South looked to him for defence, for protection, for guidance. He is permitted to mingle in the councils of the nation—utter his voice with one foot in the grave—and then he is withdrawn forever—withdrawn, too, when he feels his head clearer and his prospect of usefulness brighter than it had ever been before. Why at this time is his voice stilled in death? Why was he not permitted to utter those last words which lay upon his heart? Why, when the highest of all sublunary interests was at stake, was one of our purest and brightest statesmen refused permission to continue in the conflict? Surely this was the finger of God. It was no casualty—it was no accident of fortune—it was no decree of destiny—it was the act of the Almighty.

No temper is more constantly commended in the Scriptures than devout contemplation of the events of Providence. The atheism which disregards the works is as severely condemned as the stupidity which despises the word of God. They are said to be wise, who observe and ponder the operation of His hands—who mark His goings forth and contemplate His paths as the great Moral Ruler of the universe. They are wise who perceive in Providence its wonderful analogies to grace—who feel that the plans and purposes and principles of the Divine government are stamped to some extent upon all the Divine proceedings—that the moral, natural and physical, all harmonize with the spiritual and eternal, and that the events which are constantly taking place around them, give emphasis and illustration to the truths of revelation. Beside what may be styled the natural history of the universe, its stability and order, its uniformity and proportion, beside the operation of general laws and the connections and dependencies of a systematic whole, there is a secret lore which the good man gathers from the phenomena of nature—a recognition of God in His moral character, dealing with His moral and responsible creatures. Death, as a natural event, is one thing—as a moral phenomenon another. In the one aspect we may speculate upon its causes, its symptoms, its effects. We may discuss fevers and coughs and agues—talk about the vital organs, and make a consistent theory of physiology. But the whole train of natural events which physiology discusses and which

terminates in the dissolution of the frame, must be viewed in subordination to the moral government of God, in order to be properly understood and duly appreciated. It is in this aspect that the contemplation of Providence becomes a matter of religious wisdom, and yields lessons for the improvement of the heart as well as the instruction of the head. To deny the agency of God, because events are brought about in a natural order, which is to make the uniformity of nature a plea for atheism, is a stupidity as absurd as it is deplorably common. Who, we may ask, established this natural order? Who keeps it in continuance? Who brings into being each successive link in the chain of sequences? And who has arranged the whole series so that every thing occurs at the appointed time and in the proper place?

But while philosophy and religion conspire in teaching that the hand of God must be devoutly recognized in all the operations of Providence, the investigation of final causes is circumscribed within narrow limits. We can only study them in relation to ourselves. To scrutinize the purposes which God means certainly to accomplish, and explore the ultimate reasons of His visitations to the children of men—to say precisely what was the design of the Almighty in such and such a proceeding, were beyond the limits of mortal penetration. He worketh all things according to the counsel of His own will. The hidden springs which move that will—the ends which God actually intends to achieve, we are not competent to discover. But the relations of these events to us—their tendencies and adaptations are obvious and patent—and these tendencies are so many expressions of the Divine pleasure—so many intimations of what God would have us to do or forbear. His Providence often carries lessons on its face which it is criminal stupidity not to perceive, and criminal insensibility not to feel. His visitations are often messages to men, as palpable and clear as if the heavens were opened and an angel commissioned to speak from the skies.

That there are events brought about in the regular operation of secondary causes, which from their importance and their juncture, have all the effect of a miracle, in rousing attention and extorting the confession of the presence of God, requires only to be stated in order to be owned. Though no encroachments upon the established order of sublunary things, they are *invasions* upon the dull uniformity of thought—they disturb the tranquillity which sees nothing in the world but a succession of antecedents and consequents, which appear and disappear, exciting no other feeling than that they are a matter of course—they break the slumbers of a practical Atheism and provoke the acknowledgement that there is a God in the heavens—who has done whatsoever He

pleased—that there are watchers and a Holy one who rule in the kingdom of heaven and distribute dynasties and thrones with sovereign authority. There are events in which the natural is lost in something which is felt not to be a matter of course—we pause before them—we spontaneously give heed to them as having a special significance—we interrogate them as strange and unexpected visitors—and through them, if we are wise, we shall learn lessons that it was worthy of a miracle to teach. Precisely of this character is the event which has hung our own Commonwealth in mourning—has struck the nation with awe—has roused the attention of all classes in the community, and has elicited public expressions of sorrow and lamentation from societies, clubs, schools, colleges, districts, towns, cities and legislative assemblies. This spontaneous expression of grief—every where—from all parties—from every portion of the land—from the pulpit and the press—the intense interest the death of our illustrious Senator has excited—place it beyond all question in the category of those events in which God solemnly announces His own sovereignty and communicates a message to the children of men as if by a legate from the skies.

Upon occasions of this sort, it has been justly remarked by one, who of all others knew best how to improve them, "the greatest difficulty a speaker has to surmount is already obviated—attention is awake—an interest is excited, and all that remains is to lead the mind, already sufficiently susceptible, to objects of permanent utility—he originates nothing—it is not so much he that speaks as the events which speak for themselves—he only presumes to interpret the language and to guide the confused emotions of a sorrowful and swollen heart into the channels of piety."

It is not the office of the pulpit, however, to praise the dead or flatter the living. As it surveys departed greatness with a different eye from the eye of sense, it can bring no offerings to the altar of human glory, nor erect a monument to the achievements of human genius. The preacher, in common with other men, may drop a tear at the urn of the patriot, and dwell with delight upon those rare gifts which the Supreme Disposer of all things has conferred upon a mighty statesman. He, too, is a man and a citizen—and in these relations he may feel and weep as others weep at the extinction of a great light. But as the ancient prophets were required, in the proclamation of their messages, to suppress the voice of nature and to speak with a dignity and majesty befitting the oracles of God, so the pulpit must stand aloof from the language of panegyric, know neither friendship nor hatred, and seek to extract from the dispensations of Providence only those lessons of the

Divine word, they are suited to illustrate and enforce. As we bury our dead this day, and as men, patriots and citizens, mourn that the delight of our eyes and pride of our hearts has been removed from us at a stroke, let us recognize the hand of the Almighty and inquire, with solemnity and reverence, what the instructions are which the judge of all truth is imparting to the country by this dark visitation. A Senator has fallen—a statesman has perished—a man has died. In these aspects, the mournful occurrence may be regarded as the voice of God, teaching a fitting lesson to the councils, rulers and people of the land.

I. A Senator has fallen! There is a message here to those who are entrusted with the cares of government and the business of legislation. The introduction of death, in a form so awful and astounding, into the Senate of the United States, was a proclamation from heaven to all who are called to deliberate upon the affairs of the country, that their ways are before the eyes of the Lord, and that He pondereth all their goings. Whatever may be the cause, it is impossible to contemplate death in our own species as a merely natural event. We may endeavor by a shallow philosophy to persuade ourselves that it was the original lot of our race—that we were designed, like the beasts that perish, to appear and disappear in succession—to fret and strut our hour upon the stage, and then be seen no more—that like drink and food and sleep, it constitutes an element of our destined course—and is no more remarkable than any other phenomenon of our being. But no philosophy can impress these sentiments upon the heart—our moral nature rises in rebellion against them, and the instinctive feeling of mankind is that it is a dread and awful thing to die. Having sprung, as we are informed by the sure word of prophecy, from a moral cause—being a judicial visitation of God—how natural soever the instruments may be by which it is brought about—the fixed associations of the mind connect it with moral retribution—and every conscience responds to the declaration of the apostle—that it is appointed unto men once to die—and after death the judgment. You cannot behold a corpse—you cannot stand by a grave—without feeling that though the body is there, the soul is gone to receive its final award. The very language in which the event is familiarly described, indicates the instinctive belief that the man is still in being in all the mystery of his identity—and that he has taken a journey to a world from which he is to depart no more. We say that he is gone—gone to his final home—to his fixed and everlasting abode. His being is not extinguished. He has laid aside the habiliments of mortality—the robes and decorations of a sublunary state—to stand in the nakedness of his moral nature before the bar of God. The man—

what was simply the man—that upon which the law pressed—the intellectual life—is unclothed, that naked, as it came to run its career of probation, naked it may return to give an account of the deeds done in the body. Hence the awful solemnity of death—it is the precurser of judgment. God's minister to summon God's creatures to God's tremendous bar. It is accordingly a great thing to die. The keys of death and hell are in the hands of Him who sitteth upon the throne—and it is a solemn act of mediatorial government to open the doors of the invisible world and consign a deathless spirit to its destined position. We say that such and such an one is dead. The very sound is ominous and its portentous meaning has been fearfully portrayed—"an immortal spirit has finished its earthly career—has passed the barriers of the invisible world—to appear before its maker, in order to receive that sentence which will fix its irrecoverable doom, according to the deeds done in the body. An event has taken place which has no parallel in the revolutions of time, the consequences of which have not room to expand themselves within a narrower sphere than an endless duration. An event has occurred the issues of which must ever baffle and elude all finite comprehensions, by concealing themselves in the depths of that abyss, that eternity, which is the dwelling place of Deity, where there is sufficient space for the destiny of each, among the innumerable millions of the human race, to develope itself, and without interference or confusion, to sustain and carry forward its separate infinity of interest." This is true of the departure of the meanest individual to the world of spirits. But the familiarity of the scene and the small degree of interest which attaches to the humble and obscure—the narrow circle within which that dissolution is mourned as a calamity, or deplored as a loss, prevents the impressions which death as a judicial visitation is suited to make upon the mind from exerting their full and appropriate effect. "In the private departments of life, the distressing incidents which occur are confined to a narrow circle. The hope of an individual is crushed—the happiness of a family is destroyed—but the social system is unimpaired and its movements experience no impediment and sustain no sensible injury. The arrow passes through the air which soon closes over it and all is tranquil. But when the great lights and ornaments of the world, placed aloft to conduct its inferior movements, are extinguished, such an event resembles the Apocalyptic vial, poured into that element which changes its whole temperature and is the presage of fearful commotions—of thunders, lightnings and tempests." Such an event reveals the presence of God—and summons imagination and thought to the contemplation of those august realities which await the

revelation of the last hour. Such an event brings eternity before us with all its dread and tremendous retributions and presses upon the soul the burden of an awful and oppressive responsibility. It makes us feel the magnitude of our being—and the stoutest heart is roused for a moment and startled at the summons—prepare to meet thy God.

The lesson of responsibility, of course, tells with more direct and powerful effect upon those who are intimately associated in pursuit—friendship—or profession with the victim of the destroyer. He being dead speaks pre-eminently to them. Through his grave they are invited to contemplate eternity, and his departed spirit reminds them of the hour in which they too shall be called to lay aside the vestments of mortality. It tells them to do their work as in the eye of God—to think and act and deliberate and feel, in full view of the account which they must render at last. It tells them that a moral character attaches alike to their persons and their deeds—and that the complexion of their destiny depends upon the spirit in which they discharge the duties of their station. When consigning a body to the tomb, or witnessing the last gasp of a dying friend—we seem to stand upon the very borders of the unseen world—to be walking on the shore of that boundless ocean—in which all the streams of time are swallowed up—we almost hear the thunder of its billows—and feel the heavings of its waves—and a sense of immortality rushes upon the soul which at once oppresses and expands. We feel like rising and shaking ourselves from the dust—and the resolution is involuntarily adopted—though in the vast majority of cases too speedily forgotton—to do with our might whatsoever our hands find to do—since the night cometh when no man can work.

No lesson could be more seasonable, in the present crisis of our national affairs, than the responsibility of rulers and legislators to God, the judge of all. That this doctrine is inadequately apprehended, the history of legislation in this and every other country is a mournful proof. There are two errors—widely prevalent—which have a direct and necessary tendency to despoil it of its full and just proportions—one is, that national responsibility is limited in its operation and effects to the dispensations of Providence in the present world—and the other is, that where there exists not, as there should exist no where, a national establishment of religion, the distinctive sanctions of religion cannot be introduced. The effect of both errors is the same in relation to the retributions of a future world. And although one appears to be widely removed from the other, in that it acknowledges the fact of national responsibility, yet its mistake in limiting the Divine visitations to our present and sublunary state, divests the doctrine of all its awful

and commanding majesty. It invests the Almighty, as the ruler of nations, with limited power and with temporary judgments—it places at His disposal the plague, pestilence and famine—war, earthquakes and tornadoes—but it robs Him of that thunder which holds individuals in check—of that vengeance which makes the future so terrible to the workers of iniquity. He may ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm—he may grind the nations as the small dust of the balance—he may extinguish their lights—throw them back into barbarism—but for their national sins he cannot visit them in the world of spirits.

As the ordinary course of affairs affords but slight indications of any marked visitation for national iniquities—as communities seem to be dealt with upon very much the same principle as private individuals—one event happening alike to all, this defective theory of national responsibility amounts in practice to a total destruction of any effective sense of responsibility at all. Seed time and harvest—commerce and trade—the various elements of national prosperity, seem to be so largely within the compass of human calculation and foresight, that where appearances, according to the established connections of antecedents and consequents, promise well for the future, these anticipations will be adopted as the real guide of conduct rather than any apprehensions of sudden and violent interpositions of Divine justice. Men judge of the future by the indications of the present, or the experience of the past—and if they have nothing to deter them from evil but the prospect of immediate calamity, they will seldom find reason to be alarmed. The consequence upon statesmen and legislators is very much the same with the natural effects of the doctrine of universal salvation upon other individuals. The conclusion which they cannot but draw from the facts of Providence would be as unfavorable to moral distinctions and the rectitude of the Divine administration as if they reasoned from the fortunes of individuals. They could not but believe, either that God was indifferent to the moral conduct of organized communities—or that if He punished, it was so seldom—so irregularly, and except in rare and extraordinary cases, so imperceptibly, that no serious estimate should be made of His pleasure or displeasure in settling any great question of national policy. The final result would be a practical atheism which would completely exclude Him from the councils of the country.

The other error conducts to this result directly and immediately. It maintains that as a nation, in its organic capacity, cannot make a profession of religion—cannot worship God nor believe the Gospel of His grace—therefore it is exempt from His control, and bound to have no special respect to His laws. This doctrine confounds the national obli-

gations of religion with the existence of a national church. And as the establishment of any sect, or any particular species of religion, is an encroachment upon the rights of conscience, it is concluded that all religion must be excluded from halls of legislation, courts of judicature or seats of power. The impression prevails, to a melancholy extent, that the administration of the country is an affair in which God has no interest, and should, by no means, be consulted, and in conformity with this impression many look for it as a matter of course that all the measures of the State shall be independent of any relations to religion. There are those who would exclude it from public institutions of learning—from the army, the navy,—as well as from the halls of Congress.

In both errors the fallacy is committed of overlooking one of the most obvious and fundamental principles of moral philosophy. All responsibility, in the last analysis, is personal and individual. The responsibility of a nation is not the responsibility of an organic whole considered as such, but of all the *individuals* who collectively compose it. The State is a compendious expression for certain relations in which moral and responsible persons exist towards each other—the duties of the State are all the duties of individuals—the crimes of the State are the crimes of individuals—the sins of the State are the sins of individuals, and the prosperity and the glory of the State are the prosperity and glory of individuals. The State is nothing apart from the men who constitute it. They exist in society, with reciprocal rights and obligations, and the company of individuals so existing is the State. To protect and defend these rights—to maintain the supremacy of justice—to give each individual the scope for the development, without interference or collision, of his separate and distinct personality, with a similar privilege to others, is the primary end of government—which must still be conducted by individuals and carries along with it only individual responsibility. In all the relations, in all the employments, in all the departments of the State, every one who is called to act is still only a *man*—and he brings to his labors all the measures of responsibility which appertains to his capacities and knowledge considered simply as a man. He is every where—in every office—in every trust, an immortal being, under the law of God—and the sanctions of that law extend as clearly and completely to his political conduct as to any other actions of his life. That law knows no manner of distinction betwixt the statesman and the man—the statesman is only the man, in new relations, involving new applications of the eternal principles of right. An honest man and a corrupt politician are a contradiction in terms.

It is hence obvious how the obligations and sanctions of religion press upon communities and nations. A State is bound to be religious, in the sense that every man in it is bound to fear God and to work righteousness. A State is bound to reverence the Gospel, in the sense that all its members are obliged, on pain of the second death, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ—and a State is required to glorify God, in the sense that all its citizens—whether in private stations or posts of dignity and trust—are required, in whatever they do, to seek the glory of His great name. When a legislature passes a law, it is done by the votes of *individuals*—and these individuals are all responsible *as such*, for the votes that they give. If any man has lent his sanction, in his public and official relations, to aught that transgresses the law of God, or slights the institutions of the Gospel, it is sin upon his soul to be visited and punished as any other wickedness of his life. God treats him as an individual, in such and such relations, with such and such duties growing out of them.

His responsibilities, therefore, as a ruler—a legislator—a judge, are precisely of the same fundamental nature—have precisely the same fundamental character—with his responsibilities in the private walks of life. He is summoned as a *man* to God's bar—and the scrutiny is made into all that the *man* has done, in the various relations which he has been called to sustain—and he is just as liable to be sent to hell for a corrupt vote—a political intrigue—or a political fraud, as for lying, hypocrisy or treachery in the private walks of life. The law of God as completely bound him in one position as in another—and, in every position, a man should recognize himself as God's subject who must give an account at God's bar of all that he has done in all the relations in which God's Providence has placed him. This is the doctrine of the Scriptures as well as the plain dictate of unsophisticated reason.

The mandate of the text is given to kings and judges, as individuals, or men occupying high posts of power or renown. "Be wise now therefore O ye kings, be instructed ye judges of the earth—serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling—kiss the Son lest He be angry and ye perish from the way when His wrath is kindled but a little."

If this doctrine could be impressed upon our public men and upon the heart of the nation, it would soon give us, in our national councils, what the present crisis so eminently demands—STATESMEN instead of jobbers and politicians. There is not and cannot be a more painful spectacle, than to see the interests of a great people tossed to and fro by the schemes and intrigues and chicane of men, who have neither

the fear of God before their eyes nor the love of their country in their hearts. We cannot but dread some impending calamity when we see the honor and prosperity and glory of a nation made the sport "of the party tactics and the little selfish schemes of little men, who by the visitation of God, happen to have some control over a great subject and some influence in a great commonwealth." It is a lamentation and shall be for a lamentation—that the most momentous interests, requiring for their adjustment amplitude of mind, integrity of purpose—simplicity of aim—broad and general considerations of truth and justice—should so often be the sacrifice of dwarfish politicians—who are unable to extend their vision beyond the domain of self—or the almost equally narrow circle of section, party, or clique—that in affairs which call for the counsels of MEN—of men who are, in some degree, sensible of what it is to be a *man*—who have God's smile or frown before them—that, in such affairs, we should be dependent on the guidance of pigmies—yea, of worse than pigmies—of beings who profess to be immortal—to be working out a destiny for eternity, and yet who can rise to no loftier ends than the flesh pots of Egypt. A statesman is a sublime character—a jobbing politician too little for contempt.

Aristotle, in designating the points of correspondence between a pure democracy and a despotism—the ethical characters of which he makes the same—has noted the affinity between the parasite of a court and a popular demagogue. "They are not unfrequently"—says he—"the same identical men—and always bear a close analogy." The distinguishing characteristic of each is an utter destitution of elevated principle, arising from the absence of any just sense of moral responsibility. The schemes of each are only contrivances for personal aggrandizement. The most momentous interests of the nation are viewed as the occasions or instruments of private or party ends. Every thing proceeds from selfish and sordid calculation, while the supremacy of right and the authoritative voice of duty, the highest policy of a true statesman, are little reverenced by these pests of the Commonwealth. The parasite of a court is designated in Greek by a term which condenses the very essence of the meanness contained in flattery, hypocrisy and fawning. The cure of such eruptions upon the surface of political society is a pervading sense of personal responsibility. Impregnated with this sentiment—none would assume duties which they were incompetent to discharge—because none would be willing to jeopard the interests of salvation for the brief importance of an hour. Who would wear a crown steeped in poison or occupy a throne with a drawn sword

above his head? The solemnities of eternity would be made to protect the interests of time.

For the purpose of teaching this lesson—the lesson of personal responsibility for the manner and spirit in which they have discharged the duties of their trust, the event which we this day contemplate, may have been permitted to take place. The bar of God, the tribunal of eternal justice, was reared in the halls of legislation. A signal example was given of one who, in the midst of his duties, was called to his final account. Each survivor was reminded of what soon would be true of him. The scene was touching and solemn beyond description, when the dead body of our departed Senator, in the scene of his greatest glory, was made a monitor of God, eternity and retribution to those who were deliberating upon the greatest question that has ever arisen in the history of any people. From the tomb he seemed to say—remember, Senators, that you must give an account of your stewardship. The eyes of God are on you—"raise your conceptions to the magnitude and importance of the duties that devolve upon you,"—"let your comprehension be as broad as the country for which you act—your aspirations as high as its certain destiny"—deliberate, vote—decide—as if the next moment you were to be with me in the world of spirits—at the bar of God—in a changeless state. Remember that you occupy a sublime position—a spectacle to the Deity, to angels and to men. The civil destinies of the world hang on your decision. Rise to the dignity and grandeur of your calling as immortal beings, and instead of seeking to conciliate a section—to promote a party—or to aggrandize yourselves—instead of contracting your views to the idle and ephemeral applauses of earth, aim at the approbation of angels, and of God. This was the language in which he, being dead, yet spoke to his companions and brethren in the Senate—and his voice we trust has not been wholly unheard. The noble eulogy of Webster—the touching tribute of Clay—the tone imparted to the Senate, lead to the hope that, notwithstanding recent and flagrant outrages, there exists in that august assembly a sense of responsibility, which wisely directed may, under God, prove the salvation of the country. But whether regarded or disregarded, it is the office of the pulpit to proclaim to our rulers that God will bring them into judgment for their public and official conduct—that however they may overlook every thing but the success of their selfish schemes or the commendation of their persons, God demands of them a supreme regard for justice, truth and religion—it is the office of the preacher to tell them, that if they say or do aught contrary to the principles of eternal rectitude, they say or do it at the peril of their

souls—and to remind them from the memorable example of Herod that, though an infatuated mob may shout in its blindness, it is the voice of God and not of man—the judgments of heaven may consign their souls to the lowest hell.

Lightly and carelessly as it is sought, the office of a legislator is a solemn trust. It is wicked to aspire to it without being prepared for its duties—and when it is bought or secured by the corruption of the people, it is the wages of iniquity which God will surely turn into a curse. How can that man entertain any adequate conviction of his responsibility to God, in discharging the functions of a place into which he was introduced by an open contempt of the Deity? I confess frankly, that I tremble for my country when I contemplate the deplorable extent to which politics are turned into a trade—when I see the shocking separation in the national mind betwixt the candidate and the man—the politician and the citizen. To counteract this tendency, to impress upon all, the individual and personal nature of responsibility—to inculcate the supremacy of right every where, in all relations, is an end worthy of the extinction of the brightest lights of the land. To make us feel the all-pervading authority of the moral law and of the Christian faith—to bring us to the recognition of the truth, that in all the diversified scenes to which the Providence of God allots the children of men—they are still to be regarded as Christians and as men—developing the character and manifesting the principles upon which their eternal destiny depends, is a consummation cheaply purchased by events, which in the figured language of the Scriptures, are compared to the eclipse of suns—the destruction of the stars and the convolution of the heavens. And if the death of our illustrious Senator shall contribute to inspire the breasts of our Senators and Representatives with the sentiments which befit their station, it will be his lot to have served his country as gloriously in death as in life.

II. The lesson which this event, considered as the death of a statesman, is suited to impart, is addressed to the people at large, and comes with pointed emphasis, in the present crisis of affairs, to the people of the South, and particularly to us in South Carolina. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man—it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes. In God is my salvation and glory—the rock of my strength and my refuge is in God—trust in Him, at all times, ye people, pour out your heart before Him—God is a refuge for us—surely men of low degree are vanity and men of high degree are a lie—to be laid in the balance they are altogether lighter than vanity. Thus saith the Lord—"cursed be the man that trusteth in

man and maketh flesh his arm—whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall be like the heath in the desert and shall not see when good cometh." Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me—that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin—that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh and to trust in the shadow of Egypt.

The lesson which the Providence of God was continually inculcating upon the heathen nations, whose affairs are incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures, is that the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men—and accomplishes His pleasure among the armies of heaven and the inhabitants of earth. The dominion of Jesus Christ, as Mediator, extends to nations as well as individuals—States and governments are the instruments of God, ordained in their respective departments, to execute His schemes—and the Divine Redeemer bears written upon his vesture and thigh a name which indicates universal sovereignty—Lord of Lords and King of Kings. They are a part of that series of Providential arrangements by which the moral purposes of God, in reference to the race, are conducted to their issue—and as much the appointments of His will as the family, or the Church. There is not the same direct interposition in the organization of civil and political communities as in the constitution of the Church—but the necessity of the State is founded in the nature of man—springs from the moral relations of individuals—grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength of human society. It is the spontaneous offspring of a social state—and in the same sense the creature of God, that the society from which it springs and from which it cannot be severed is the Divine ordination. There never was an absurder, and I may add, a more mischievous fiction, than that political communities are conventional arrangements, suggested by the inconveniences of a natural state of personal independence, and deriving their authority from the free consent of those who are embraced in them. Political societies are not artificial combinations to which men have been impelled by chance or choice, but the ordinance of God, through the growth and propagation of the species, for the perfection and education of the race. The first State, according to the Scriptures, was not distinct from the family. But as households were multiplied, though the tie of consanguinity was still the ground upon which authority was recognized, and natural affection and habitual association combined to invest the patriarch with the highest jurisdiction, a class of ideas began to expand themselves which rested upon other principles than those of blood. Moral relations—more extensive and commanding

than that of father, husband, wife or child, the relations of man to man—of reciprocal rights and reciprocal obligations, were brought into view and the patriarch became a magistrate—the representative of justice, as well as a father—the representative of family affection. That the distinctive boundaries of these distinct relations were at once understood—that they are even now adequately apprehended where the nearest approximations to primitive society obtain, is by no means affirmed. It was only in the progress of a long, slow, providential education that the real nature of the commonwealth as contradistinguished from other communities, began to be unfolded. The State was developed with the progress of society—and as the necessity of its existence is laid in man's nature—as the supremacy of its claims—its high and awful sovereignty, is nothing but the supremacy of justice and of right, among moral and responsible agents, the State, through whatever organic arrangements its power may be expressed, is the creature of God, the sacred ordinance of heaven. It is not a thing which can be made or unmade, it is part and parcel of the constitution of our nature as at once social and responsible.

This view of the State connects it at once with the moral purposes of the Deity—and the whole history of the world shows that its development, which is the progress of liberty, depends upon the providential disposition of events over which the agency of man has no direct control. All solid governments and all permanent liberty have grown much more out of circumstances than out of fixed and definite purposes of man. A nation of slaves cannot establish a free government—it is a thing for which God must have prepared the way, and all efforts to rise suddenly from a condition of despotism into that of freedom have been attended with licentiousness, anarchy and crime. True liberty is a thing of growth—there is first a stock of acknowledged rights which are transmitted in the way of inheritance—the progress of society enlarges it with fresh and fresh additions—there is a conglomeration of the new and the old—a connecting link betwixt the past and the present—and the consolidation of inheritance and acquisition is the security of liberty. Hence from the very nature of man and the very nature of the State, and the very nature of liberty, political communities must receive their shape and direction from the circumstances in which the great Disposer of events has placed any people. The doctrine of dependence upon God is, accordingly, intertwined in the very fibres of the commonwealth. The State is a school in which the Deity is conducting a great process of education, and providential circumstances determine alike the lessons to be taught and the capacity of the scholars to learn

them. The dangers, as in all schools, are those which spring from indocility of temper—or from rashness and impetuosity, which would outstrip the leadings of Providence. Each indicates a spirit of independence of God—and each is apt to be rebuked with expressions of His displeasure. The difficulty with communities that have been long accustomed to the reign of despotism is, that they are too dull to learn—they are backward to follow the intimations of circumstances—they stagnate in their corruptions; and the outbreaks of revolutions are sometimes necessary to rouse the people and put them in the attitude of progress. They distrust the Almighty and refuse to move until they are driven.

The difficulty with free and growing communities is, that in the consciousness of imaginary wisdom and strength, they anticipate the slow progress of events, and casting off their dependence upon God, undertake to accomplish their destiny by their own skill and resources. They rely partly upon principles—partly upon men—partly upon both. Overlooking the concurrence of Providence, which is essential to the success of political combinations and arrangements, they vainly imagine that they can create the circumstances upon which they are dependent. There is a magic in their doctrines, or a charm in their schemes, or a power in their champions, which can subdue the elements and accomplish the work of Him whose prerogative alone it is to speak, and it is done—to command and it stands fast. But the lesson of the Bible and of experience is "that in the midst of all our preparations, we shall, if we are wise, repose our chief confidence in Him who has every element at His disposal—who can easily disconcert the wisest counsels, confound the mightiest projects, and save, when He pleases, by many or by few. While the vanity of such a pretended reliance on Providence as supercedes the use of means is readily confessed, it is to be feared we are not sufficiently careful to guard against a contrary extreme, in its ultimate effects not less dangerous. If to depend on the interposition of Providence without human exertion be to tempt God; to confide in an arm of flesh when seeking His aid is to deny Him; the former is to be pitied for its weakness—the latter to be censured for its impiety, nor is it easy to say which affords the worst omen of success."

That this lesson is eminently seasonable in the present crisis of the nation, none can be tempted to doubt. It is possible that our confidence in the great statesman, whose death a nation has lamented, may have been such as to provoke the jealousy of that God who will not give His glory to another. We may have relied more upon his power of argument—his energy of persuasion—his integrity of character—his

public and private influence, than upon the secret operations of that Spirit who controls the movements of kings, and turns the hearts of the children of men as the rivers of water are turned. It is evident that what is needed at the present crisis is a spirit of patriotism—of justice and of loyalty to God. It is the *temper* of the people and of the rulers upon which, under God, the salvation of the country depends. If the whole nation could be animated with a single purpose to do what is right—if factions and parties and local and temporary interests could be forgotten—if the presiding genius in our halls of legislation were the sublime and heroic principle of justice—if every member there could be brought to feel that he was the representative of the whole nation, bound to promote, cherish and defend the interests of all, in conformity with the spirit and provisions of the constitution—if fanaticism could be rebuked and selfishness suppressed, and power awed into a sense of responsibility—who doubts but that all our difficulties would be speedily adjusted—that the clouds which threaten us would be rolled away, and the sun of union and liberty burst out again in meridian refulgence? The production of this temper is not within the compass of man. To change the current of established associations—to dissolve the charms of prejudice—to break the fetters of interest—to enlighten the blindness of fanaticism and make power obedient to right—these are not the feats of argument or skill—they require the finger of God. It is He alone who can give the spirit of a sound mind. He alone has direct access to the souls of men—and in the removal of him, whom we were tempted to make our stay and our prop—He is exhorting us to trust only in Himself. Well will it be for us if we can learn the lesson.

It becomes us, however, to remember that a people can trust in God only when they are seeking the ends of righteousness and truth. Our dependence upon Him should teach us the lesson that righteousness exalteth a nation and sin is a reproach to any people. We cannot expect the patronage of heaven to schemes of injustice and of wrong. The State is an element of God's moral administration—and to secure His favor it must sedulously endeavor to maintain the supremacy of right. He may overrule the wickedness of the people for good—He may even permit unrighteous kingdoms to flourish notwithstanding their iniquity—but as the habitation of His throne is justice and truth, it will be found, in regard to communities, as well as individuals, that Godliness is profitable for all things, having the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come. "There is in the bosom of all human societies a desire and a power of ceaseless progress. It is struggling now—it will struggle to the end. Many failures have passed—many are still to

come. Not until men clearly see the real and the only security for their great developement, will these failures cease. If they will put their hands in the great hand of God, He will lead them firmly in the way. What is just, what is right, what is good, let them do these and they will fail no more—what is wrong, what is unjust, what is evil, let them do these, under whatever pretext of political necessity and they cannot but suffer and fail—renew the struggle, and suffer and fail again—it is this great lesson which an open Bible and free institutions are teaching the human race." Freedom must degenerate into licentiousness unless the supremacy of right is maintained. We must co-operate in our spirit and temper and aims with the great moral ends for which the State was instituted, if we would reach the highest point of national excellence and prosperity. The ultimate purpose of God is that the dominion of Jesus should be universally acknowledged—and that nation only will finally and permanently prosper, whose people have caught the spirit and habitually obey the precepts of the Gospel. Every weapon that is formed against Him must be broken; and the people that will not submit to His authority must be crushed by His power. Why do the heathen rage and the people imaginge a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against His anointed, saying—let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh—the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath and vex them in His sore displeasure. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion—I will declare the decree. The Lord hath said unto me—thou art my Son—this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I shall give the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron—thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise, now, therefore, O ye kings, be instructed ye judges of the earth—serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling—kiss the Son lest he be angry and ye perish from the way when His wrath is kindled but a little.

If the accounts, which the Scriptures give, of the exaltation and universal dominion of Jesus, are to be relied on, there can be no doubt but that Christianity lies at the foundation of national prosperity. People and rulers must be imbued with the spirit and observe the institutions of the Gospel. We insist upon no national establishment of religion—upon no human encroachments on the rights of conscience, but we do insist upon the individual and personal obligations of every man, throughout the broad extent of the country, to be a Christian, and

the corresponding obligation to act as a Christian in all the departments of life, whether public or private. As Christianity is the presiding spirit of all modern civilization, it is the only defence of nations against barbarism, rudeness, anarchy and crime. Let Jesus be enthroned in every heart—and the nation that is made up of Christian men will soon be a praise and a joy in every land.

But where the people and rulers know not the mediatorial King, whom God has set upon the Holy hill of Zion—where His Sabbaths are profaned, His temples deserted, His grace despised—His favor must be withdrawn—the fountains of national virtue must dry up—and that land must ultimately be given to wasting and desolation. The strongest security within which the institutions of this country can be entrenched, is the prevalence of the Christian religion. The State is an ordinance of God as God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself; and to those who have considered the bearings of the mediatorial government upon the prosperity of States, there is nothing surprising in the present darkness which overshadows the land. It is the rebuke of ungodliness and infidelity. From the highest to the lowest gradations in Society—from the chair of State, the halls of legislation, the courts of justice, the popular assemblies of the land, the cry of blasphemy, profaneness and atheism, has gone to heaven. God's Sabbaths are polluted for the purposes of gain—licentious and unprincipled demagogues make it a business to cheat the people with flatteries and adulations which are alike dangerous and blasphemous—offices are sought by open chicanery and corruption; and amid scenes of revelry and riot—more befitting the orgies of Bacchus than the deliberations of a free people, the greatest questions of the nation are discussed. The debauchery of the people, and the triumph of demagogues, has always been attended with the worst form of slavery—that bondage of the soul in which every man is afraid to entertain an opinion of his own—in which the individual is merged in the mass; and when this result is reached, the moral economy of the State being defeated, we can look for nothing but the righteous judgments of God. The reign of licentiousness is the prelude of national dissolution. The people that will not have Jesus to reign over them, must be slain before Him. He is exalted at God's right hand, above all principality and power and dominion, and we must submit to his sceptre, or perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little.

III. But this event may be finally considered as the death simply of a man, and in this aspect of the case, the pulpit, it seems to me, would but inadequately discharge its duty, if it failed to inculcate the distinc-

tive provisions of the Gospel, as the only means of securing a triumph over this last enemy. There are many who admire the morality and praise the spirit of Christianity, but who are content to form no higher conception of its power than that of a moral institute, distinguished from the philosophical systems of men, by the larger compass of its views, and the more commanding influence of its sanctions. This is particularly the case with the educated men of the country. It is painful to witness the fact that so many of this class—to which it will be your distinction to belong—while professing, from the superficial attention they have given to the subject, to believe that there is something in the Gospel; yet either from a lurking skepticism, or the absorbing influence of other cares and pursuits, are, for the most part, profoundly ignorant of what constitutes its essence and its glory. They view it from a distance—or detect nothing in it but an authoritative statement of the principles and tenets of natural religion. But ask them the question—what a sinner must do to be saved? and the nakedness of their answers will evince too clearly that the great problem of redemption has never been earnestly considered. The difficulty is that they have never felt the malignity of sin. They have never experienced the sentence of condemnation in their own souls; and the consequence is that, however they may respect the voice of Jesus as a teacher, they cannot be brought to submit to Him as a Saviour. The characteristic distinction of the Gospel, is that it is the religion of a sinner. It is a grand dispensation of Providence and grace to rescue man from the condemnation and ruin into which the whole race has been plunged by rebellion against God. The necessity of its arrangements is laid in the very nature of moral distinctions—from which it results that sin cannot be pardoned by an act of authoritative mercy. Without the shedding of blood there is no remission, and he alone can be properly denominated a Christian, he alone is entitled to the rewards and blessings of Christianity—who, from a deep consciousness of guilt and ruin, has fled for refuge to the hope set before him in the Gospel. The calumniated doctrines of grace are the life and soul of our religion. Personal union with Jesus by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is indispensable to a real participation in the benefits of redemption. Through faith in the Divine Redeemer, death, the last enemy is conquered, subdued, destroyed. It becomes a glorious thing to die—it is only a birth into a new and everlasting state of blessedness and glory. It is the prerogative of the faithful, and of them alone, to depart from the world in triumph. There is no case on record—it has never happened in the experience of man—that death was welcomed—hailed with rapture and

delight—by any but those for whom its sting had been extracted by the blood of the great Mediator. Still we must guard against the delusion that the condition of peace or consternation, in which a man expires, is any certain indication of his future state. The righteous, through the temporary darkness of unbelief, through ignorance, or doubt of their acceptance in the beloved, or as a just visitation for past neglect, may be permitted to pass from the world in apprehension and alarm; while the impenitent and wicked may be bolstered, in their last hours, with the same fatal props which have deceived them through life. The errors which have shaped their conduct may cling to them until the veil is withdrawn and eternity has become a matter of experience. It is no uncommon thing, it is true, for conscience, in the final struggle, to assert her supremacy—especially in the case of those whose unbelief and disobedience have been a conflict with reason and judgment. They are permitted, yet further, to look into futurity, and to read something of the fearful scroll which will be produced against them at the bar of God; and they shrink back, with shudder and dismay, from the awful catastrophe that awaits them. Stung by remorse, and enlightened by the Scriptures, they feel that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Death is, indeed, a terrible object—the very king of terrors—they writhe and agonize and struggle against his encroachments. Clinging to life with the tenacity of despair, compelled and yet afraid to die—they curse the day and the hour in which it was said that a man child was born into the world.

> "In that dread moment, how the frantic soul
> Raves round the walls of her clay tenement;
> Runs to each avenue and shrieks for help,
> But shrieks in vain! How wishfully she looks
> On all she's leaving, now no longer her's!
> A little longer, yet a *little* longer,
> Oh! might she stay to wash away her stains,
> And fit her for her passage. Mournful sight!
> Her very eyes weep blood; and every groan
> She heaves is big with horrors. But the foe,
> Like a staunch murderer, steady to his purpose,
> Pursues her close through every lane of life,
> Nor misses once the track, but presses on;
> Till forced at last to the tremendous verge,
> At once she sinks to everlasting ruin."

Such is the end of an awakened sinner!

There are others who depart from life with as much insensibility as

they eat or drink or sleep. Such men are pre-eminently sensual. They have never risen to any just conceptions of themselves—of moral responsibility—of final retribution—of an immortal being. They have never felt that life was an earnest or serious reality—it has been to them merely a routine of mechanical observances, and as they have lived like beasts, they die like dogs.

There are others, of a nobler mould, who reconcile themselves to dissolution by the considerations of a stoical philosophy. They look upon death as an appointment of nature—an inevitable event, and they endeavour to prepare themselves to submit to it with dignity and grace, since resistance is vain and escape impossible. They meet it, therefore, with the fortitude and courage with which they would encounter any other calamity. But still it is a calamity—it is not a messenger to be greeted—not an object of congratulation, of triumph and of joy. To this attainment paganism was competent before life and immortality were brought to light in the Gospel. The philosophers of the ancient world, by their dim and misty speculations, were nerved to die like heroes, though none could die like conquerors. But to be content with submission when victory is within our reach is heroism no longer. To endure when we might subdue is a low ambition. How different is the death of a Christian! I am now ready to be offered, says the apostle, and the time of my departure is at hand—I have fought a good fight—I have finished my course—I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing. We are conquerors and more than conquerors through him that loved us. Through death He has destroyed him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and delivered them who, through fear of death were all their life-time subject to bondage. It is the glory of Christianity to erect its trophies upon the tomb. Death and hell were alike led in triumph at the chariot wheels of Christ, and those who are in Him can sing the song of exaltation and of victory amid the agonies of their dissolving clay.

Let me beg you, my young friends, however you may be tempted by the examples of the great, not to be contented with distant, partial, defective views of the economy of God's grace. It is not the greatness of their intellects which keeps them at a distance from Christ—it is not that they have discovered religion to be a cheat—not that they have weighed its evidences in the balances and found them wanting—it is simply because they have never examined the subject. From the natural alienation of the heart from God, the influence of early preju-

dice, the distractions of business—the turmoil of ambition—the absorbing power of their pursuits—they have kept aloof from this inquiry—and though they have won for themselves a name which posterity will not willingly let die—the very qualities of mind by which they have been enabled to do so, would lead them, if properly directed, to condemn their inattention to religion as an act of folly, of distraction and of madness. Deceive not yourselves with vain hopes—Jesus is the only Saviour—in the day of final retribution there will be no respect of persons. On that great day shall be seen "no badge of State, no mark of age, or rank or national attire—or robe professional or air of trade." As in the grave whither we are all hastening, the rich and the poor are promiscuously mingled together, the distinctions of honour and of wealth vanish away as colours disappear in the dark, so in the last day none can be found to claim the titles which were only concurrent upon earth. It will then be only "a congregation vast of men—of unappendaged and unvarnished men—of all but moral character bereaved." The virtues or the crimes which appertain to each are all that he can carry to the bar of the Judge. All else will be left in the tomb—as the worthless badges of mortal and not immortal men.

There is a distinction, however, that shall never fade away—the distinction created among men by the possession of the Spirit and a personal union with Christ. In the great day to which we have referred, when God shall arise to shake terribly the earth, and the destinies of all the race shall be irrevocably fixed—our right to life will depend entirely on the witness of the Holy Ghost. None can sustain their title as sons, but those whom He has sealed unto the day of redemption. To appear without His signet on our foreheads and His impress upon our hearts is to awake to shame and everlasting contempt. It will not be a question whether we have been great or mean, honoured or despised—rich or poor—it will avail nothing that Senates hung in rapture on our lips and nations bowed obedient to our nod—but it will be a question—the question—the turning-point of destiny—whether we have the Spirit of God's Son. If we have been among the miserable skeptics—who have not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost—if our Christianity has been nothing more than a baptized paganism—if we have despised evangelical religion under the name of fanaticism—and laughed at pretensions to grace as the effervescence of enthusiasm—if, from any cause, we have failed to be born again and to become new creatures, in Christ Jesus, however admiring multitudes may have chaunted our requiem and shook the very arches of heaven

with their plaudits—unlimited duration will be the period assigned us to lament our folly and bewail the consequences of our terrible delusion. My young friends be not deceived—an endless duration is your destiny—feel its greatness—look above the earth—look to your home in the skies—seek for glory, honour, immortality—but seek them only in the Gospel of God's grace. Resolve first to lay hold upon eternal life—and then you shall never need any good thing on earth. What stronger proof could you demand of the undying nature of the soul than that which is furnished in the last moments of our departed Senator? What stronger proof that our *real existence* begins only at the point of death? Prepare for that existence—and your life here will be glorious—your death triumphant—and your end everlasting peace.

# ALLSTON'S EULOGY.

Eulogy on JOHN C. CALHOUN, pronounced at the request of the Citizens of Georgetown District, on Tuesday, 23rd April, 1850. By ROBERT F. W. ALLSTON.

To pronounce, acceptably, a Eulogy on Mr. CALHOUN, whose merits weigh on every mind, whose praises are on every tongue, is no easy task; yet, to decline the essay would be to decline a labor of love, an honor, and a precious privilege conferred by you. Should my essay come short of public expectation, (as it must on so great a subject,) you will be pleased to accept the good will with which it is freely offered, in place of a better performance.

Whilst giving me your attention on this interesting occasion, I invite you each to lend me your spirit-thoughts, to animate and to amplify my poor language, in recording some of the virtuous traits of his high character, some incidents of his stirring and eventful life, some excerpts from the political philosophy of his lofty genius. We all did love him for the purity of his private life, the engaging simplicity of his blameless character, the devotion of himself to us and our interests. We all did prize him for his matchless services in the public councils, his rare sagacity in discovering truth, and the transcendent power with which he elucidated it; his undying attachment to his native State, and his untiring efforts to vindicate her rights, and promote her welfare. It is meet, therefore, that we assemble together, after the first poignancy of grief, to commemorate the virtues of so valued a citizen. That we should unite our hearts in utterance of the universal feeling which now pervades this community. The occasion itself—the abstraction from business—the intense interest of the people—these, constitute the eulogium indeed—expressive, brief and true.

So far as words can go, the impulsive testimony of his great cotemporaries, Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, constitute the highest eulogy. The reflective, touching, well-measured, yet pregnant praise of the great Western Orator—the free, spontaneous, unmeasured and intelligent tribute of the pre-eminent Law-giver of the East, constitute together the most complete, the most enviable commentary upon human charac-

ter and conduct—the character and conduct of an American, untitled, untravelled and self-sustained.

When we reflect that that American was one of us—a Carolinian—by birth, affection and true service; the breast of every citizen glows with honest pride, and the heart of the Christian is ready to overflow with gratitude to the Author of our being and our destinies.

Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, and Mr. CALHOUN, were universally acknowledged to be the three great luminaries in the political sphere of the Federal Republic. Entering the House of Representatives within two years of each other, some forty years ago, they have been identified, sometimes in conjunction, more often in opposition, with all the great questions of their day; the discussions of which are all stamped with the impressions of their superior intellects. Most of all, it has been the lot of Mr. CALHOUN to bear the brunt of the powerful, skilful, sustained antagonism of both his great compeers—of Mr. Clay, for instance, on the subject of the Restrictive System and the Currency—of Mr. Webster, on the Federal Constitution, relating to the powers of the General Government, State Rights and Remedies. Recently, on the grave and momentous question which now agitates the country, and is about to shake this Union to its centre, he encountered both together; though both were less determined in their opposition, and both expressed a willingness to promote conciliatory counsels. Mr. CALHOUN'S health being broken and feeble, his speech on this occasion, by unanimous consent of the Senate, was read by Mr. Mason, of Virginia. There is no citizen of South Carolina intent on his duty to the State, and to posterity, who can soon forget the profound sentiments of that memorable speech. There is no Southern man, unless he be pre-determined to yield to partizanship, the talents due to his country, who can read that speech attentively, and still withhold his aid in promoting a "Union of the South for the sake of the Union." A spectator of the scene says, "when this speech was concluded, the veteran trio met in front of the Vice-President's chair, and joined hands. What a moment for the artist! How as each scanned the worn features of the other, their minds reverted back to the scenes through which they had passed, and forward to the future—the eventful future! No three living men ever so completely enlisted the affections of their friends, or wielded so much influence upon the nation at large." The youngest, alas! of this most remarkable trio, is no more. The surviving Senators both declaimed over his bier—their recollections of him constitute a portion of his history.

Hear, first, the great Orator of his age, his distinguished competitor

in many an arduous, well-contested debate: "Ever active, ardent, able, no one was in advance of him in advocating the cause of the country, and in denouncing the injustice which compelled that country to appeal to arms. Of all the Congresses with which I have had an acquaintance, since my entry into the service of the Federal Government, in none, in my opinion, have been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men as were in those Congresses which declared the war, and which immediately followed the peace. In that splendid assemblage, the star which has just set stood bright and brilliant. It was my happiness, during a great portion of the time, to concur with him upon all great questions of national policy. During the session at which the war was declared we were messmates, as were other distinguished members of Congress from his own patriotic State. I was afforded, by the intercourse which resulted from that fact, as well as from subsequent intimacy and intercourse which arose between us, an opportunity to form an estimate, not merely of his public but his private life; and no man with whom I have ever been acquainted exceeded him in habits of temperance, in all the simplicity of social intercourse, and in the tenderness, and affection and respect, which he extended towards that lady, who now mourns more than any other the event which has happened." * * * * "I will say, in few words, that he possessed a lofty genius, that in his powers of generalization of those subjects of which his mind treated, I have seen him surpassed by no man, and the charms and captivating influence of his colloquial powers have been felt by all who have ever witnessed them. I am his senior, Mr. President, in years, and in nothing else." * * * * "I trust that we shall all profit by the singular merits of his character, and learn, relying upon our own judgments and the dictates of our own conscience, to discharge our duties as he did, according to his best conception of them, faithfully and to the last."

Hear also, the Eastern Orator, Mr. Webster, pre-eminent now for gigantic intellect, colloquial powers, and constitutional law: "Differing widely on many great questions connected with the institutions and good of the country, these differences never interrupted our personal and social intercourse. I have been present at most of the distinguished instances of the exhibition of his talents in debate. I have always heard him with pleasure, often with much instruction, not unfrequently with the highest degree of admiration. Mr. CALHOUN was calculated to be a leader in whatever association of political friends he was thrown. He was a man of undoubted genius, and of commanding talent. All the country admit that his mind was perceptive and vigorous: it was clear,

quick, and strong. Sir, the eloquence of Mr. CALHOUN, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise, sometimes impassioned, still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking far for illustrations, his power consisted in the felicitousness of his expression, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner. These are qualities, as I think, that had enabled him, through such a long course of years, to speak often, and yet always command attention. His demeanor, as a Senator is known to us all, is appreciated, venerated by us. No man was more respectful to others. No man conducted himself with greater decorum, and no man with greater dignity. I think there is not one of us that felt not, when he last addressed us from his seat in the Senate, with a form still erect, with a voice by no means showing such a degree of physical weakness as did in fact possess him, with clear tones, and impressive and most imposing manner—there is none of us, I think, who did not imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived. Sir, I have not, in public or private life, known a person more assiduous in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of life in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but in the pleasure of conversation with his friends. Out of the chambers of Congress he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge, pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him, or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted. My honorable friend from Kentucky has spoken in just terms, of his colloquial talents. They certainly were singular and eminent. There was a charm in his conversation, and he delighted especially in colloquial intercourse with young men. * * * *
Mr. President, he had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character, and that was unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations they were high, and honorable, and noble. There was nothing grovelling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am quite sure he was, in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the public, I do not believe he had a selfish motive or selfish feeling. However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles,

those principles, and those opinions will descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He had lived long enough, he had done enough, and done so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time, with the records of his country. He is now a historical character. Those of us who have known him here, will find that he has left upon us, upon our minds and hearts, an impression of his person, his character, his performances, that while we live will never be obliterated. We shall, hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection, that we have lived in his day; that we have been his co-temporaries; that we have seen and heard and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are to come after us. When the time shall come that we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character; his honor and integrity; his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism."

More can scarcely be said of mortal man by experienced Senators, gentlemen whose command of language is complete; who know well, and weigh the meaning of every line, of every word they utter.

When a great public man has passed away, leaving a void in society which he alone could fill; each one who had enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance, or had become deeply interested in his views of public policy, his character and services, is apt to appropriate to himself the misfortune; and to feel that he individually has sustained a grievous loss. Even among the enemies of his cause, the chivalrous champion will feel that a gallant spirit, necessary in some sort to his own high distinction, is missing—that a noble foe has fallen—one worthy of the brightest and the stoutest lance, yet unscathed by his.

How much then, how widely must the object of our thoughts be missed from the high sphere which he adorned, with the brilliancy of his sparkling intellect, with the native charm—the simplicity of genius.

Born (1782) at the close of the war for independence, in the beginning of which his native State had gallantly espoused the cause of Massachusetts against the Mother Country. He died (1850) in the midst of a contest for "Equality or Independence," nobly contending to the last for the rights of his native State, in common with the Southern States, against the grasping cupidity and unjust aggressions of a Northern majority. Reared under the tender assiduities of an affable, sensible, virtuous mother, and the sterling uncompromising principles of an industrious, thinking, whig sire, he lived (to the age of sixty-eight), illustrating in the excellent harmony of his character the blending of his parents' best qualities.

It affords us a melancholy pleasure to dwell on those admirable qualities of soul, that elevated yet accessible nature, accessible to the most unpretending citizen as to the most exalted, the even and benign temper, the calm philosophy, the high moral courage and firm purpose, the indomitable energy and patient industry, the invincible powers of reasoning, which so distinguished him. The power of his mind was prodigious—no man reasoned more rapidly, clearly and concisely, bringing cause and effect together in one view, and arriving at results which startled all about him, even those in whose deep design they may have been arranged. His sagacity and forecast were most remarkable, amongst many remarkable statesmen of his day. His perception and penetration, so quick and sure, seemed to be intuitive. His enunciation, though rapid, was clear and distinct. His style of speaking may be described as that of one who thinks aloud. Add to these, a republican simplicity of habit, with courteous demeanor, chaste conversation, with blameless purity of life—striking originality of thought, with a profound wisdom founded on observation and reflection—where shall we look to find his like again? The anxious inquiry is echoed and re-echoed from every mountain and hillside of his bereaved State.

Some short time since we might have looked to the able bench of jurists in this State—there *was* one there. Alas! he has gone before, to render his great account of the talents entrusted to him. South Carolina has, within a few years, lost this valued citizen, so like him in purity of motive, in simplicity of character, in love of truth, of justice, of virtue; that my mind reverts to him with irresistible, pleasing and grateful remembrance. In the character of the late William Harper, who was associated with Mr. CALHOUN, intimately and heartily, in the service of the State, when the State most needed wise counsels and true service, were combined all—the fearlessness and firmness of a spiritual nature, the gentleness, and candor, and fruitful invention of true genius, the discretion and wisdom of experience, learning, and reflection, so needed for the occasion which developed them. His was the worth most modest in his own estimation—the simplicity and beautiful truth of soul, most endearing to his friends—the unselfish devotion to his cause and country, most valuable to his constituents, and prized by all who enjoyed the privilege of serving with, and knowing him. His heart was in the right place—it always glowed with generous ardor, and burst forth with uncalculating power, in defence of a righteous and noble cause.

Next to the paramount influences of his mother home in Abbeville, the States of Georgia and Connecticut both contributed towards the

training and the storing of his capacious mind. The social ties thus formed, out of his native State, together with his enlarged benevolence, and expansive range of thought, rendered him, in mature life, essentially liberal in his views of public policy, and in his intercourse with public men. His whole country was embraced in his comprehensive good-will, his ardent attachment, his ever watchful devotion. His theory was—that to preserve and perpetuate the Federal system in its singular beauty and power, it is indispensable to preserve also the integrity and relative power of its component parts, the States. No writer who has ever treated the subject, has thrown so much light, as Mr. CALHOUN has, on the true construction of this part of the Federal Constitution.

Regarding it as "in words plain and intelligible, it is meant for the home-bred, unsophisticated understandings" of men; and so he expounded it. "Justice is the end of all law." "Where there is no law, there is no rational freedom." The Constitution is the fundamental law, duly adopted, and sanctioned for the government of the United States—binding upon all alike, as well in the limitations it imposes, as in the authority it confers. The Constitution is the result of a compact between the States as States, instituted and agreed to by the people thereof; "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Mr. CALHOUN has demonstrated, irresistibly, to minds unprejudiced and candid, that, by this Constitution, the States, each sovereign and independent before its adoption, have parted with no more of their sovereignty than is embraced in the powers expressly granted thereby, and those incident to, and necessary for carrying into effect the granted powers. That an act passed by a majority in the Congress of the United States, not in accordance with the specific powers granted by the terms of the Constitution, and in contravention of its spirit, is, in fact, no law, because it is inconsistent with, and in violation of the fundamental law, which can only be altered or amended by the constitutional majority of three-fourths of the States. That the allegiance of the citizen is due to the State in which he resides, and by authority thereof (expressed by the Constitution) his obedience is due to the Government of the United States. That to insure domestic tranquillity, and to secure the blessings of liberty and a good government, it is incumbent on the several departments of the General Government, the Legislative, the Judiciary, and the Executive, (each so prone to assume,) to exercise no doubtful power, but to keep strictly

within the bounds of their legitimate authority assigned by the Constitution itself.

With the view to neutralize Mr. CALHOUN'S influence, and mar the effect of his argument against prohibitary duties, it has not unfrequently been urged that he favored and sustained the first "Tariff of Protection." It is true that he and Mr. Lowndes did vote for the Tariff of 1816, but they were actuated by public-spirited and generous motives, which the mere politician is incapable of appreciating.

The second war with Great Britain, memorable for the achievements of our gallant little Navy, and untutored Army, and crowned with the signal and decisive victory at New Orleans, left our country embarrassed with a heavy debt; to meet the interest and installments of which, a revenue was necessary. It was proposed to raise this revenue by imposts, or duties upon foreign importations, both for the sake of the revenue to be derived from this source, and for the purpose of sheltering from the ruinous competition which awaited them, (on opening the ports to peaceful commerce,) the infant manufactures of various kinds, to which the necessities of the people and of the government during the war, had given rise. To abandon these establishments at the close of the war, when there was no further need of them, was not deemed sound policy in the opinion of considerate statesmen. Accordingly, Mr. Wm. Lowndes and Mr. Calhoun both voted for the Tariff of 1816, which imposed a duty of 25 per cent. upon foreign importations, to be reduced to 20 per cent. in the year 1820. This is called the "First Tariff of Protection." The year after its passage Mr. CALHOUN left the House of Representatives, and assumed the duties of the War Department, under President Monroe; a post which he filled with distinguished ability, until he was elected Vice President of the United States, (1825). When the year 1820 rolled round, the capitalists engaged in manufactures, having enjoyed the benefits of protection for a season, were loath to relinquish them. So far from being willing to submit to a reduction of duties, as was contemplated by the Act of 1816, they arranged a plan to have them increased, and to establish permanently the policy of Protection. Mr. Lowndes soon perceived the tendency of their scheme to monopoly, the unfavorable effect its operation would have upon the Southern planting interest, and the conflict of the design with the spirit of the Constitution. He at once took a decided stand against it; as, in all probability, his former colleague would have done, had he retained his seat in the House.

Greatly encouraged by success in this instance, the manufacturers prepared to carry their design still further. The value of the monopoly

gained for the system rapid popularity: now called "The American System;" it acquired proselytes wherever was to be found a water privilege for motive power in the Northern and Eastern States. By ingeniously connecting it with a splendid system of Internal Improvements, under the authority of the General Government, the material support of the Western Representatives was obtained, and thus a permanent majority in favor of a high tariff was secured in both Houses.

In the years 1824, 1828, and 1832, successively, the duties were raised higher, and the tax on Commerce and Agriculture became more onerous and oppressive, until under the iniquitous feature of "minimum valuations," the duty on several articles of foreign commerce and general consumption, amounted almost to prohibition; swelling enormously the great profits of the manufacturer, and increasing the distance, already great, between the Northern capitalist and laborer.

Against these encroachments on the rights of one section of the Union, by the interested majorities of another, against this repeated abuse of power, unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust, several of the Southern States remonstrated, but in vain. On the Journals of the United States' Senate, after the passage of the Tariff Act of 1828, the Legislature of the State caused to be entered an able document in which for several reasons therein given, they do, in the name and on behalf of the good people of the Commonwealth, "solemnly protest against the system of protecting duties, lately adopted by the Federal Government."

After the passage of the Tariff Act of 1832 by Congress, in defiance and disregard of the most respectful remonstrance and this formal protest, a Convention of the People of South Carolina, assembled in due form, at Columbia, and declared the said Acts of 1828 and 1832, to be unconstitutional, void, and not "binding upon this State, its officers or citizens."

In adventuring on so bold an act as this, nothing that was due to our co-partners in the Union was overlooked, or left undone by the Convention. Addresses were published, severally, to the people of this State, and to the people of the United States, breathing sentiments of devoted patriotism; justifying their ordinance by that very patriotism, by calm and cogent reasoning, and by their regard for principle and for duty.

This act of the State, in her Sovereign capacity, incurred for her the deep displeasure of the Federal Government, then under the administration of the Hero of New Orleans—the most energetic, and far the most popular President of the present century. Threats of coercion were freely rumored at the Capitol. The Army and Navy were held

up as in terror. Good men there stood aghast at the temerity of the little State, in thus braving singly and alone, the unjust Government; which many of them deemed unrestricted as well as supreme. Constrained to yield their admiration to the spirit of her citizens, they trembled for the fate of the gallant State. It was indeed a moment of anxious suspense, of fearful, noiseless excitement.

Under the ban of the Union, her public men denounced, together with all who gave them countenance; unsustained, apparently, beyond the limits of her own territory,* relying upon a good cause, and her own resources, our honored Mother calmly marshalled those resources, gathered her children to her side, and piously invoked the justice of overruling Heaven!

Such was the aspect of our affairs when Mr. CALHOUN next became an active member of Congress, to encounter, with his colleagues, almost alone, the flushed champions of the Restrictive System.

The spectacle was sublime! The example is priceless!

Descending from the chair of the Senate, which he had long filled with so much ability, impartiality, and dignity, he resigned (1832) the second office in the gift of the United States, took his seat on the floor as a Senator from his native State, to vindicate her principles, justify her conduct, and plead the cause of a violated Constitution—to stand or fall with South Carolina.

The important and impressive debate of that day will be referred to by statesmen of aftertimes with deep interest and with much instruction. It will be admitted that his powerful arguments, full mind, and sincere convictions, produced a decided effect, in opening the eyes of many to the true reading of the Constitution, to the expediency and policy of Free Trade, and to the more than dangerous usurpation of the Force Bill.

The same Congress, at its second Session repealed the odious acts complained of, by enacting a new law called the Compromise Tariff, (2d March, 1833,) by the terms of which the duties were to be reduced gradually during a space of ten years. By this act, quiet was restored to the country, which flourished greatly under its operation—the doctrine of free trade, and the principles of political economy, having acquired many substantial friends from the preceding instructive and able discussion. The act of 1833 was brought about by the influence of Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, a name and an influence which is associated with

* Citizens who were high in authority at that time, could testify that men and means were tendered by patriotic individuals out of the State, to be placed at her service in case the Government should attempt to coerce her.

the most interesting events in American history during the present century. The wise feature in it by which the imposts, instead of being suddenly reduced, were to be modified by gentle gradations, covering a term of years, is due, as I understood, to Mr. CALHOUN. Scarcely could a greater proof have been given at the time of the enlarged views, the high principle, and considerate wisdom of this eminent statesman. Knowing the importance of stability as a feature in the laws regulating trade, he preferred this gradual reduction to a sudden one, which would have given a shock to business, proved disastrous to many innocent persons, and which perhaps might have had the effect to renew the contest.

A similar proof was afforded by his course, when the charter of the United States' Bank was under discussion. He was opposed to re-chartering the Bank, but was for carrying into effect the opposition considerately. Regarding the welfare of the country, and the nature of such institutions, he was in favor of extending the charter for twelve years, in order to afford the Bank abundant time to close its affairs, without pressing its numerous debtors to insolvency and ruin.

Indeed, no discussion on any leading question occurred during Mr. CALHOUN'S continuance in the Senate, which did not receive the impress of his master mind. As when treating a subject, he viewed it well in all its bearings, so he viewed his public duty. If, on surveying the field of duty, his judgment pointed out a particular path, he would press forward in the direction of that path with all the ardor of his nature; seldom stopping short of attaining his end—and there was no such thing practicable as leading him astray by any collateral issue. It was not in the power of flattery, or sarcasm, or invective, to divert him from his steady aim—and that aim, however sectional he may have seemed at the moment, was never inconsistent with the good of his whole country—the prosperity, improvement, and happiness of America —nor with the welfare of mankind.

In discussing the currency question, under Mr. Van Buren's administration; the Ashburton treaty, under Mr. Tyler's;* and the boundary of Oregon territory, under Mr. Polk's: his reasoning was equally comprehensive and liberal, and his conclusions just. Whether he urged immediate action, or "masterly inactivity," his counsel prevailed.

* By this treaty, the dispute with Great Britain about the North-Eastern Boundary was settled. Containing, as it did, some features objectionable to him, Mr. CALHOUN'S prompt support aided materially in ratifying it. The North-Eastern Boundary is the boundary in fact of the State of Maine. Pending the negotiation, the representatives of South Carolina unhesitatingly voted to invest the Executive with extraordinary powers to defend it in case of need.

Peace was confirmed; Commerce expanded; Agriculture prospered; Manufactures flourished.

America owes his memory a deep debt of gratitude.

The first step towards its liquidation may be taken by doing the simple justice which, in his public capacity, he demanded with his last breath! Justice to the South—to the Constitution—to the Union.

It is well known what a chief part Mr. CALHOUN took in the annexation of Texas, now a shining star in the American Constellation, and comprising within her limits, territory sufficient, with variety of soil and climate to constitute four more States. The successful agency which he had in that affair, proved to the world how valuable to the statesman, and to his country, in the field of diplomacy, as well as legislation, were the singular qualities of heart and mind, the pure morals, the simple manners of our lamented countryman.

It is known, too, that he was not an advocate of the war with Mexico. He deemed it impolitic, not only upon general principles, but he foresaw the domestic controversy to which the acquisition of territory, a necessary consequence of the war, would give rise; he foresaw, too, with anxious apprehension, that the spirit of conquest, always aggressive, and ultimately fatal to a Republican Government, might be engendered and fostered among the people, by the success of the Federal arms; and when they were worse engaged, he always contributed by thought, word, and deed, to their success.

Unhappily, the Mexicans themselves rendered the war inevitable. The American troops exhibited their usual prowess, under every disadvantage. They conquered in every field. Territory of immense extent and mineral value has been acquired. The domestic controversy has resulted, and is shaking to the foundation that noble political structure, the Federal Union.

This unhappy controversy, for which we are in no wise responsible, is founded on the aggressive claim of the States *North* of Mason and Dixon's line, to the whole of the acquired territory; and the resistance opposed to such claim by the States *South* of the said line, as oppressive, unjust, and inconsistent with the faith and the bond of the Federal Union. They allege that their object is, by means of the General Government to prevent the extension of our domestic system. We contend for non-intervention; that the General Government has no power to legislate thus partially, invidiously, oppressively; and insist upon the right of property; the individual right to emigrate with our social institutions, and upon our rights as States, under the Constitution of the Union. They, arrogating to themselves superior purity and

patriotism, are for usurping the powers of the Union from out the Constitution, and consolidating them, in the keeping of the tender consciences of a ruling majority of Congress—that majority being made up of their own representatives. We, on the other hand, avow, and will maintain for the Southern States, their "Equality, or Independence."

In treating this controversy, in striving to prepare the way for a satisfactory, equitable, and permanent adjustment of it, Mr. CALHOUN has devoted the latest moments of his valued existence, has exhausted the last energies of his nature. Who can forget the impression of his last great effort. The clearness and simple truthfulness of its statements —the calm philosophy of its reasoning—the elevation and dignity of its sentiment—the aspiration for united counsels—the demand for justice —the love of country which pervades the whole—the decision and firmness of its conclusion.

The better to understand and appreciate him now, I deem it proper to recall some of the opinions relating to Government and the Federal Union, which he was known to have entertained when Vice President of the United States, and which are destined to become maxims for the Republican.

"That irresponsible power is inconsistent with liberty, and must corrupt those who exercise it."

The two greatest dangers to our system of government, are the abuse of delegated power, and the tyranny of the greater over the lesser interests of society. To guard against the former, rulers must be controlled by constituents through elections. To guard against the latter, the Constitution must provide the necessary checks.

"No Government, based on the naked principle, that the majority ought to govern, however true the maxim in its proper sense, and under proper restrictions, ever preserved its liberty, even for a single generation."

An unchecked majority is a despotism. It is the purpose of a Constitution to impose limitations and checks upon the majority.

The several sections of our country have a diversity of interests, distinct and separate—each is to be duly cared for by the local government of the States. To a certain extent, we have a community of interest—this can be provided for only by concentrating the will and authority of the whole in one General Government, supreme in its legitimate sphere.

To draw the line between the General and State Governments: The powers of the General Government are particularly enumerated and specifically delegated; all others are reserved to the States and the

people. The former are intended to act uniformly on all the constituent parts, the latter can only operate within the limits of the State, or they may be granted by amendment of the Constitution.

Our system consists of two distinct Sovereignties:

1st. The original Sovereignty of the several States, which in their separate political character, created the Federal Government.

2d. The ultimate Sovereignty—the majority of three-fourths of the States, by which alone the Constitution may be amended or changed.

Congress and the Departments are but the creatures of the Constitution, appointed to execute its provisions—and any attempt on the part of all or either of them, to exercise definitely any power, which in effect would alter the nature of the instrument, or change the condition of the parties to it, would be an act of the highest political usurpation. These were among his sentiments.

His efforts were always directed to the preservation of the Union, not its dissolution. He never did contemplate a separation of the States until the last—perhaps the sad, the ungrateful experience of his latter days may have compelled him to dwell on the painful alternative. Even then, it was evident, such moments were unwelcome to him. His last words uttered in the Senate of the United States, indicate a strong desire on his part, to see amended the Constitution, to perpetuate the Union, as far as it was in his power to aid in doing so, in justice and harmony.

How deeply interesting are the incidents of his last attendance, of few days, at the Capitol. How absorbing the interest which he felt, the desire he expressed for united counsels among the Southern States, for the sake of the Union, if it could be saved—for their own sakes, if it could not.

Behold the sage, the intrepid patriot! wasted by disease, consumed with intense reflection, and burning, prophetic thought; foreseeing evil to his loved country, and laboring to prevent it, even by the sacrifice of his life, if that would avail; he comes from a bed of languishing, before the American Senate, to utter, aided by a friendly hand, a friendly voice, the singular wisdom of his native genius—the rich stores of a pent up, towering mind—the last solemn warning of an approved friend to his country, about to die in her service.

A beacon light, which illuminated and cheered our pathway, is extinguished—burning bright to the last, even after speech was denied to the physical man. But the light of his truth, and heaven-born genius is left, to point out to our young men the path of public virtue, and usefulness and honor. His soul exists still—exalted, I trust, through

the grace of God, to that sublime sphere for which his pious convictions of future accountability, and his pure life in the midst of engrossing public duties, had prepared him. The gain is his—the loss all ours. It becomes us, nevertheless, to be resigned. God is good, "His ways are past finding out;" but they are always wise, and merciful and just. "He doth not willingly afflict, or grieve the children of men." And nothing is permitted to happen under the sun, without a purpose.

Let us consider. Perhaps his admiring countrymen, the citizens of this State, relying too much upon the soaring genius, the pre-eminent abilities of Mr. CALHOUN, may have omitted, or neglected, the less obvious, but practically important duty of their individual parts. Perhaps; but it becomes me not to pursue this train of thought. Profiting by lessons of the past, let each citizen look to the responsibility of his own part, in the portentous present—and as he loves his country, as he values his birth-right and his children's, let him see that he perform that part, however humble, however exalted, faithfully and well.

Mr. CALHOUN was one of those extraordinary men, who live beyond the age in the service of which they are actively engaged, and by which, too often, they are not duly appreciated.

His teachers were experience, observation, reflection. Dwelling, habitually, on the nature of his high duties and responsibilities, and aided by his remarkable gifts—penetration into the character and designs of men, generalization of ideas and arguments, and accurate, rapid deduction, he often foresaw, and announced coming events, long before they were dreamed of by those around him. It will not excite our wonder, therefore, to remember that frequently he was not understood by those with whom he counseled, or with whom he acted—that sometimes he was misconstrued and misrepresented. The wonder might be rather, that he was not deterred from pursuing his patriotic course—that his generous and firm nature never suffered itself to relax its unappreciated labors in the public service. Yet he was no visionary. He cultivated early and long the habit of thinking justly. He frankly, and in the simplest language, gave utterance to his thoughts. Time, and his own fruitful services will prove that his mind more nearly resembled in its character, the prophetic, than the visionary.

Generous Spirit! the world will yet do justice to that lofty soul, that unselfish devotion, that sincere and bold heart, which animated your attenuated frame! Young Carolina, roused by the example of your life—your death, will send forth her hundreds of men, touched by the influence of the mantle which you have worn—each vieing to be fore-

most, most courageous, most honest in the path of duty, and striving to approach that eminence of usefulness and virtue, which it was your rare fortune early to have attained, and so long to have occupied!

Impartial history will decide that next to George Washington, no American has lived, who, in a long course of trying public service, and on every occasion, has so fully justified the confidence and expectation of the public whom he served. None, whose blameless and eventful, though peaceful career will reflect more true glory on the American name than JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

Daughters of Carolina! weep not for him now, but point your children to his illustrious example, closing a long life of public usefulness, and honor without a blemish. Forget not the power, the privilege, the responsibility of woman's mission—not only gentle, benevolent and refining, but active, chastening, elevating. Remember, Washington was reared by a tender, pious mother, whose principles, pure as the sea-breeze and stable as the hills, formed as firm a foundation for his now venerated character, as does the mountain base of granite, for its lofty and majestic crest.

Remember, that CALHOUN, too, was reared by an exemplary pious mother, whose fortitude and love of truth, whose high integrity and self-reliant virtue impressed him deeply from his earliest boyhood. She thought no more of him than you do of that cherished boy, now looking up to you for virtuous example as well as precept. You know not but the destiny of States, the happiness of millions may, in the order of Providence, depend on the due exertion of his ripe manhood. Oh! rest not until you have imparted to him a love of truth, justice, and benevolence; rest not till you have taught him to practice self-denial, self-control, and all the sublime precepts of the Gospel.

You will thus have prepared him to digest the knowledge of the schools, and apply it to his country's service.

You will thus have trained him, like our immortal countryman, to achieve that highest moral triumph—the mastery of mind over matter.

# COIT'S EULOGY.

Eulogy on the Life, Character and Public Services of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, pronounced by appointment, before the citizens of Cheraw and its vicinity, on Wednesday. April 24, 1850, by the Rev. J. C. COIT. Published by the Town Council of Cheraw.

FELLOW CITIZENS: There are few that die who do not leave some behind to mourn. Natural affection, usefulness, dependence, or some other of the cords that bind the heart of man to man, are broken. We are not long in this world before we suffer, or learn to sympathize with those who weep under this kind of bereavement.

Beside this, there are public demonstrations of respect usual, when men die high in station, and where the tribute is often rather to the office, than to the character of the dead.

But we have come together not only to mourn for the loss of a "friend, a countryman, a lover;" but also, moved by higher impulses, to render honor to the memory of him to whom honor *is* due.

In attempting to direct your attention to those principles which lie at the foundation of our political institutions, to the study and vindication of which Mr. CALHOUN (in the love of his soul for truth and country) devoted his youth, manhood, and old age; and in support of which he died; standing, as I do, by your own appointment, to speak of his fame; I may, in justice, ask of your candor and forbearance, a favorable construction, should any sentiment be uttered offensive to the opinions of any one of you; especially, (I speak among mine own people,) when none in former days presented a more fatal opposition, (I speak of the stake of mine own life,) to Mr. CALHOUN'S fundamental policy than your orator; and when now, having for a long time been Mr. CALHOUN'S political disciple, I am to speak in his praise.

Did I not firmly believe, (a faith obtained after many struggles, and over many and strong prejudices,) did I not firmly believe that as a political prophet, he has been a great light to the people; and that his positions are rooted in facts and truths, in justice, equity and freedom, I could never have consented to occupy this honorable place which your favor has this day assigned me.

I believe his political principles to be true. I believe them to be fundamental, I believe them to be vital to the constitution and union of this country. I believe more; I hold them to be the political bulwarks of our religious liberties and the pillars of a government of truth, justice, equity and law.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in Abbeville District, and remained until he was about thirteen years of age with his parents on the farm. Their intelligence, conversation, example, piety and discipline, (without the help of tutors or many books,) had trained and educated him up to that period; when he left home for the school. At school he evinced great activity, energy and capacity of understanding; an unusual thirst for learning; and a special fondness for history. His application was so unremitting and intense that his health was soon impaired; and he was obliged to return to his mother, with whom he remained until he was about eighteen years of age, when he again left home for the academy, resolved to pursue as extensive a course of literary and scientific study, as the institutions of our country at that day afforded. He commenced the Latin Grammar, and in two years, he entered the Junior class at Yale College. At College he was marked for independence of mind, purity of morals, fondness for debate, power in reasoning, and for a clear comprehension of the elementary principles of ethics, politics and law, and for a singular enthusiasm in those studies. At Commencement his theme was significant of his youthful aspirations. "What are the qualifications for a perfect statesman?"

On leaving college, he immediately commenced the study of the law; and in about two years, the practice of that profession. He was soon elected to represent his District in the State Legislature; and continued in the practice of the law, and in the Legislature, about four years. He left a reputation at the bar, highly honorable to his personal and professional character; and while in the Legislature of his own State, stamped the traces of his image on the Statute book, to tell that he had been there, and that he had been there for good.

In 1811 he was returned for Congress. The condition of the civilized world at that juncture was appalling in the extreme. The moral and political maxims of the French revolution, as to the dignity of human nature, "the rights of man," liberty and equality, had run their course through France; convulsed and overthrown the kingdom; fused the social elements into a burning and devouring lake of fire, and melted the foundation of the pillars that had supported all the governments of Christendom. From out of that lake of fire had arisen that awful form of brass and iron, whose dominion was over all Continental Europe,

(save the frozen North,) and who, at that moment, was contending with Great Britain for the empire of the whole world.

Far removed from the arena of conflicting armies, our country was apparently at peace. But the minds of our countrymen were tossed and driven about by the warring winds of opposite moral and political opinions; and their spirits were as chaff prepared for the fire. The country was divided into two great political parties. The one, if not sympathizing with Napoleon, yet with his enmity to Great Britain; and regarding his mission as the cause of liberty and the people, against hereditary artistocracies, kingdoms, empires and despotisms, heartily wished well to his star; rejoiced in his triumphs, and echoed back across the Atlantic the shouts of his victories. The other party regarding him as the scourge of God upon the nations; and looking upon Great Britain as the only earthly bulwark for the salvation of the world from the heel of this modern Attila; trembled at every rumor of his success; for they regarded him as the incarnation of enmity to truth, virtue, liberty, and religion.

Most of our countrymen were at that day upon the Atlantic slope; and though young, we were an important maritime people, our vessels navigating every sea; extensively engaged in neutral commerce with all the world at war. And it was at this moment we were in danger of becoming the prey and the spoil of all other nations.

The effect of the mutual policy of British and French diplomacy, (as evinced by the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the orders in council,) was to seize our vessels, and insult, impress, or imprison our people. The thunder of our cannon had never been heard abroad among the nations of the earth; and our flag carried upon the wind no spell of terror or respect; and imposed no awe in foreign parts, to check the contempt, rudeness, injustice and violence, that among barbarous people at all times, and among civilized nations in times of trouble and war, devour the property and people of a nation so tame and so weak that there is no fear of the thunderbolt of retribution.

Such was the condition of the world abroad and at home, when Mr. CALHOUN first stood before the American people, as one of their rulers in the House of Representatives from South Carolina.

Mr. Jefferson's policy to meet the exigencies of the times, had been the defence of the turtle. He wished to keep our people and property at home, within our own shell. It was the non-intercourse, the embargo, the gun-boat system. If he could, he would have made the waves of the Atlantic, flames of fire. He would have cut off his country and people from all intercourse with the old continent. It was the weakness

of his administration that he endeavored to do so. Mr. Jefferson's mind was profoundly philosophic; yet had a vicious taint of idolatry, for his own idealisms and theories.

Mr. CALHOUN, who bowed with reverence to the sacred supremacy of truth, justice, and honor, in dealing with men and nations, in the high concerns of international correspondence, politics and law, considered well the nature of the clay in his hands. He knew he was not a creator, but a potter; he therefore dealt with men and human affairs as they actually were; and not like Mr. Jefferson, as though they were what his philosophy taught him they ought to be. Herein differed (as I conceive,) these eminent statesmen. Mr. CALHOUN received truths and facts as realities; and acting on them, the works of his hands stand when the winds and the storms come. Mr. Jefferson's foundation stones were too often the phantoms of his own imagination; and therefore the base of his works in places has caved in.

Mr. CALHOUN immediately took (what has always been characteristic of the man) an independent position in Congress. He never descended to be the leader of a party; and was always too high toned in honor, truth and virtue to bear the yoke. He denounced the non-intercourse system as tame and unmanly; as ruinous to the character of our country abroad, to the prosperity of our people at home; and as palsying to their self-respect, and to a high spirit of national independence. As a people we had no fame abroad; and no marked character at home. Yet in the cradle Mr. CALHOUN'S sagacity discerned the bone, the muscle, the foot and the head, of the infant Hercules. The babe was not conscious of its powers, or its destiny; but it devolved on those whom Providence had placed as tutors and governors of this child of promise, to awake him from his terrific dreams, and sleeping convulsions; and Mr. CALHOUN was the man who blew the trumpet, put the lad on his feet, and the club in his hands. In the first speech he made for his whole country "his voice was raised for war."

There are in our day dreamers, as there were in the days of Mr. Jefferson, who dream that wars are wrong; though their dreams come from a different kind of imagination. Some now hold that war is in itself a moral evil; and that any degree of insult, injustice and oppression should be passively borne, rather than resort to the terrible ordeal of arms.

I believe that among serious persons, this persuasion cometh from a confusion in their minds of the divine and human governments. The nature of these dominions is different and antagonistic. The one is purely spiritual; its subjects the spirits and spiritual powers, the minds

and the hearts, the thoughts, affections and passions of individual men. In this kingdom, where the spirit of the Lord reigns by the sceptre of his word over the soul, there love to God and man, and all the Christian graces, flourish; and all envy, wrath, malice, resentment, contentions and personal fightings among the subjects of this kingdom, are inconsistent with its dominion. Here man has personally no rights; and his liberty consists in having an eye to see, an ear to hear, and a heart to understand and obey *the word* of the Lord. It is the kingdom of faith and patience, of passive, unresisting, meek obedience to the word and the providence of God. Here is a communion, through the Mediator, of Creator and creature, Redeemer and redeemed, Sanctifier and sanctified, sinner and Saviour, father and child. This is the kingdom of heaven; and though *in* this world is not *of* this world; and where this dominion is set up and reigns in the heart, there can be personally between its subjects nothing but mutual love; fightings and wars between them are excluded. Jesus answered Pilate, "my kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews."

Here our Master intimates that it is characteristic of the kingdoms of this world that their subjects or citizens *will* fight, to save their king or sovereignty from captivity. And it was a doctrine held profoundly by Mr. CALHOUN, that no earthly kingdom or State can maintain its proper rights of sovereignty, without there be in those to whom the sovereignty belongs, an understanding to know, a virtue to appreciate, and a spirit to maintain this royal prerogative, if need be by the sword. The imperial or crown rights of a State, or of her people, involve the high moral obligation to protect the lives, the property, and honor of the subject or citizen. Mr. CALHOUN was appointed one of the rulers of the State or kingdom of this world. In these kingdoms, falsehood, violence, and rapacity reign among the people and among the nations: and his country was about to be made a prey and a spoil for them all.

There are two forms of human government that have the *Divine* sanction; (the only true basis of moral right for the dominion of man over man,) and these two governments are the civil and domestic. The domestic government is recognized and sanctioned by the word of the Lord, where the father and master bears rule over the subjects in the house, especially over children and servants. The temporal sanction of this law is the rod of correction. In the hands of the civil ruler of a people God hath put the sword; not a dove, the emblem of meekness and love; but *a sword*, as a "terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them who do well." The State is not a benevolent society, on a charitable

foundation; but the fundamental institute among men, for *human* JUSTICE. For the right and lawful use of this sword they who have proper sovereign rights in States, are responsible to no human tribunal, but to God only.

When we consider the condition of the world in arms, our own countrymen divided in sympathies with the combatants; a large part of the Jeffersonian democracy for a sort of passive neutrality and non-resistance; nearly one-half the nation opposed to war; some few for a war with both England and France; the dissensions and violent factions among our people; the country without an army or navy of any adequate moment; without munitions of war; without pecuniary resources; if we ponder upon these things, and look at the young CALHOUN with all the confidence that a conviction of the truth, justice, and honor of his cause could inspire; with a zeal kindled by a supreme love of his country; and with an unwavering reliance upon a righteous providence; calmly beholding and scanning all the difficulties and dangers that stared them in the face; urging an instant resort to arms; if we note the formidable power of the Federal party, and the terrible opposition of John Randolph, (who had then been ten years in Congress); if we attend to all these things, and to the agency of Mr. CALHOUN in procuring the declaration of war; and then note the trials of that war which followed his movement; we may understand the force of the expression of Mr. Dallas, that the young Carolinian was the Hercules who took the burden of the war on his own shoulders, and carried it triumphantly through to a glorious peace.

During the war, Mr. CALHOUN was chairman of the committee of Foreign Relations; and upon him was imposed the duty to conceive the plans, and report the bills, for sustaining and carrying on the war; and notwithstanding the unceasing and violent encounters with a most formidable opposition in Congress, the tumults in the country, and the innumerable difficulties that encompassed his daily path; yet he was always found equal to the day; calm, great, confident, unwavering—not in self-confidence, but reposing upon the truth, righteousness, honor, and independence of his cause; upon the virtue, patriotism, and spirit of his countrymen; and upon the favor of an overruling Providence; he never, never fainted or despaired. He was not the man to "give up the ship."

And now, fellow citizens, in all countries upon the face of the earth; on every shore, in every sea, the flag of our country is for an ensign to the people, savage or civilized. It *is* a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them who do well. It carries upon the wind the charm of a solid

protection, like a fortress of stone and cannon of iron; it is a sure defence for the persons and the property of all who are found under the shadow of its ample and glorious folds. We hear no more of the impressment of our seamen, the confiscation of our property, or of insults and injuries inflicted upon our countrymen abroad.

Mr. CALHOUN'S character as a statesman was first exhibited in the principles which he advocated, and on which he relied in the declaration and conduct of that war. National independence, prompt resentment for injuries inflicted upon the persons, liberties, or property of our citizens; an unwavering confidence in the cause of his country, because it was the cause of righteousness, truth, liberty and honor. He fully understood the lawful function of the sword of Cæsar; and that every nation or State that would have their rights respected, and who would maintain their liberties and independence, must be ready (if all other means fail) to maintain them by military power.

From that day to the day of his death, he has manifested his faith in this last appeal, as the sure defence of those rights of the State that are properly sovereign, against the usurpations of an overshadowing central empire. He firmly believed that the constitution and the nature of our federal government admitted of a peaceful mode of redress for these usurpations; but if that remedy failed, or was denied, and the federal government attempted to enforce their usurpations by military power; he hesitated not about the duty of a State to resist by the sword—even under circumstances the most gloomy and appalling. If Congress present to a sovereign State the dilemma of "slavery or death," he did not hesitate "which of the two to choose." He knew well that such is the nature of man, and the instincts of all human governments, that the more powerful in an intimate federal alliance, will, by a law, as constant in its operation as the law of gravitation, the more powerful will, gradually, overshadow and absorb the sovereignty of the weaker. Hence he believed that under our federal system an incessant vigilance, a sleepless jealousy, and a promptness of resentment on the part of the United States, (in every attempt at federal encroachment) manifesting a knowledge of their rights, and a spirit willing to make all sacrifices necessary to maintain them, was the only mode in which the inestimable blessings of our political constitution and federal union could be maintained, and handed down unimpaired to posterity. And I know no lesson we can learn from his history more useful to our country, and more honorable to his memory, than to cultivate in our own minds, and infuse into the spirits of our children, a sacred regard to the supreme law of the land, the federal constitution—

a reverence for and prompt obedience to that which *is* law, political and civil—and a firm and conscientious purpose of mind to resist, even unto death, at the call of the sovereign voice of the State, the reign over us of Congressional usurpation venality and injustice—a dominion that never can reign over the spirits of living men until it has first written upon their foreheads the names of the moral vices within—dishonor, degradation, cowardice and infamy.

When the question is simply one of submission or resistance to a dominion over us, which has no moral, civil, or political right; to a sheer usurpation, a naked exercise of mere arbitrary and physical power; though it may be clothed in forms of law; a free and a spirited people can never halt to choose. And freemen who *have counted* the cost of maintaining Federal or State sovereignty and independence, and know that in the last analysis, their bodies are its only bulwarks, and their own lives the stake, cannot forget who those prudent friends are, that, to rivet the yoke of oppression upon the neck of the weak, exhaust their eloquence in expatiating upon the horrors of war and the tremendous consequences of resistance to superior power. Such are the usual topics of persuasion and argument in the rhetoric and logic of tyrants and usurpers. But did they avail before the days of the revolution? did they avail in the second war for our Federal Independence, the war with Britain of 1812? did they prevail in the days of nullification? "The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong." There is a righteous Providence that overrules the affairs of men; and the moral strength of a cause is worth more than legions of mercenaries. It was not an actual or oppressive infringement upon the personal liberties or the private property of the colonists that caused the war of the revolution. But a declaration put on record, that the Parliament had *a right* to tax the colonies. Our fathers regarded this as a denial to them of the equal constitutional rights of Englishmen; and as a political degradation. They therefore blew the trumpet and girded on the sword. The cause of the colonies was really the cause of British freedom. Who can forget the noble and indignant reply of Lord Chatham to George Grenville? "I ask when were the colonies emancipated?" "and I desire to know," said Chatham, "when were they made slaves?" The cause of America was nobly vindicated in the houses of Lords and Commons in Parliament. And we, my friends, if we shall ever be driven by federal usurpation, injustice and violence to stand to our arms in defence of the constitution of our common country, and the sovereign rights of the States, shall have in our behalf the hearty sympathies and eloquence of all the Chathams in

the North, and in the East, and in the West; the swords of their Lafayettes will be drawn in the ranks of our volunteers; and we shall have the military aid of some at least of our sister States. The cause of State rights and State sovereignty will never be a desperate cause 'till the seed of revolutionary heroes is extinct in our land.

Doubtless in all approaches to a final arbiter of a nation's independence, the horrors and calamities of war, more or less, distress the minds of all men. Some are greatly agitated and desponding; and there is always to be encountered a high-souled opposition more or less powerful; as brave, as patriotic, as wise as those who call for arms; and who yet do not see how the exigencies of public affairs can justify war. At such times also is to be heard "the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen," the expostulations and cries of those who are by nature timid and unresisting, and of those who are born to wear the yoke. But the body of the people, intelligent, self-sacrificing, and patriotic, with a deep and calm conviction of the moral necessity, the duty of war, look at the worst possible issue. To kill the body is all the mighty can do, and whether to save that it be right and comely to bow the neck to the yoke of the oppressor, to leave their children an inheritance of national degradation and vassalage, is an issue that every conscientious and honorable man may at times be forced to make.

We have adverted to the principles upon which Mr. CALHOUN justified an appeal to arms in 1812, in defence of our whole country; we have glanced at the issues of that war. At its close, Mr. CALHOUN stood a prominent pillar before his countrymen and before the world—the master spirit in Congress.

The condition of all the affairs of the country was then depressed almost to the point of ruin. The currency was rotten, the circulating medium varying from five to thirty per cent discount. Commerce annihilated. Manufactures on the brink of bankruptcy. The revenue not adapted to the new condition of affairs. The army and navy demanding instant attention. At this juncture, Mr. CALHOUN was put at the head of the committee on the currency. In a report sustained by his powerful reasoning and eloquence he vindicated the policy at the time of a United States Bank. He carried his measure, and his policy triumphed over the diseases of the day.

In 1817, he was called from Congress by Mr. Monroe to preside over the department of war; and in this office he manifested the highest order of talent in administration. Where he found darkness and chaos, he left light and order. He stamped the image of his own mind on the constitution and laws of that department. There are now clearness,

system, responsibility, promptness, energy, economy in the evolutions and workings of the system—and so perfect and complete were his arrangements and rules, that the machinery of that department remains substantially as he left it, and moves on in harmony, fully adequate to all the exigencies of the country in peace or in war. He vindicated the policy of a small standing army, as more safe for a free people, yet organized on a plan that would admit of a quick expansion from 5 to 30,000 men. He ever maintained by his example and influence, economy in the management of public affairs; and yet was for a policy of liberal expenditure, that was for the good and welfare of all sections of the country. He was a fast friend of the Military Academy at West Point; and his wisdom has been tested by the issues of the Mexican war.

He was friendly to large expenditures, as becoming the dignity of the Federal Union, when measures of general and universal utility were proposed—such as the protection of commerce, and the public marine—the improvement of harbors on the sea coast—and in outlays for light-houses, and fortifications for public defence against foreign enemies.

In the department of Indian affairs he labored with patience, zeal, wisdom, and humanity, for the true welfare of the Aborigines.

In 1824, he was a prominent man in the eyes of the people for the office of President. There were also other distinguished men. Jackson, Crawford and Adams. Mr. CALHOUN opposed the nomination of a candidate by a congressional caucus; because he believed that the incumbent President would have such an influence in a body so constituted, that he would be able virtually to nominate his own successor—a power dangerous to the liberties of the country. Mr. Crawford received that nomination. The result was the election of Mr. Adams as President, and Mr. CALHOUN as Vice President.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, a federal policy was avowed, and to a great extent adopted, which has been called "the American System." It has met high favor with distinguished men—such as Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, and others. It was based upon a liberal construction of the constitution, as to the powers of the federal government. Time forbids to examine the political philosophy of that system. We shall merely advert to some of its features, as they are intimately connected with a condition of public affairs, which that system produced, and in which Mr. CALHOUN was called to act a conspicuous part. The doctrine had become popular in certain sections, that whatever policy or measures the President and a majority of both Houses of Congress deemed to be for the general welfare of the people

of the United States (if not expressly forbidden by the letter of the constitution) the President and Congress had the constitutional power to adopt and pursue.

Under some vague notions of his own sovereign rights, and of the powers of Congress; and under the pressure of conscience of duty; or an ambition to distinguish his administration; the new President, in his messages to Congress, recommended and advocated enterprises, and works for public utility and eclat, upon a magnificent and imperial scale. High tariffs, profuse expenditures for internal improvements, and a national bank, were the three sides of the triangle of the American system.

Mr CALHOUN perceived the monstrous iniquity and oppression that system would impose upon his section; which was occupied by an agricultural people, exporting cotton, rice, and tobacco; the produce given to foreigners in exchange for the bulk of all the imports upon which the tariffs were to be imposed. The benefits of the system were wholly appropriated to the sections east and west. It was not, therefore, for "the general welfare," (under the meaning of the constitution), but it was for *sectional* welfare. The high tariffs protected and fattened the immense manufacturing interests of the east; the large revenues which the tariffs produced, were wanted by the west to make roads, canals and other internal improvements for them. The South was for a spoil for both sections. The system lasted long enough to prove that the west and east, by uniting on a policy for the common interests of both sections (high tariffs) could fasten the burden on the country; and that the proceeds of the custom house would be permitted to cross the mountains, to fertilize the western wilderness. The tariff of 1828 is a monument of this Congressional usurpation and injustice.

Nearly the whole South were opposed to the tariff from a general conviction that it operated against the pecuniary interests and prosperity of that section: there is an instinct in the minds of all sorts of people quick to discover such a tendency of legislation; "the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." But to resist the operation of laws, because of such effects, where the warrant of the constitution gives validity to their enactments, is rebellion, and the oppression must be extreme to palliate the guilt of any kind of physical obstruction to their execution, and no degree of suffering could morally justify armed resistance that would not justify a fundamental revolution of the government.

But Mr. CALHOUN was the man who (with others) saw that the American system was a virtual abolition of the constitution itself; a

death-blow to the sovereign rights of the States, and a degradation of the Southern States into counties or provincial departments of the federal government.

That a majority have the right to govern, became the popular cry, east and west, and of the national party everywhere; and as that majority was represented by the President, Senate, and House of Representatives in Congress, mere enactments of the federal government, (when made without the authority of the constitution,) began to carry to the popular mind the obligations of civil and political law, and therefore of moral law. They had the sanction of something majestic and imperial about them; and to call in question the legal or moral force of the federal edicts, seemed to very many of our people to have a taint of political impiety or of moral treason about it. In the meanwhile the constitution itself, the immediate source of all the lawful power of Congress, was forgotten. Congressional legislation had made precedents, and precedents had made law, and such law had formed a veil which hid the constitution from the public eye; and that veil had been well painted by the judicial decisions of the federal court. But Mr. CALHOUN saw through that veil the majesty, the authority of the supreme political lawgivers; he saw through that veil of our legal Moses, the sovereign rights and immunities of the States, the makers of the constitution, the creators and lawgivers of the federal government itself. He read in history and on the face of the constitution what was written: that this Union is a federal union of States, originally sovereign and independent; that in and by the compact of union, (the federal constitution,) the States, each, gave freely (not surrendered) to the federal government a number of their sovereign powers; and that all the rest of their inherent powers, they each respectively reserved to itself, its State government, and its own people. That the union is one of compact and mutual covenants; that its foundations were the precious stones of truth, justice, equality, liberty, and honor. He perceived that the constitution must from its very nature (as a league among sovereign States) remain *de jure et per proprio vigore*, in its perfect symmetry and proportions, integrity, sanctity, and supremacy; while there was among our people a regard to the faith of public covenants, or force in the sanctions of religion. That nothing can be added to it, nothing can be taken from it, but by its own force and virtue. No current of Congressional procedure or legislation, no line of decision by the supreme court. No heretical commentaries, no apostacies of its professed disciples. No expressions of the opinions of its founders, and none of all other men; that nothing can politically, (we are not speaking

of its bearing on citizens as *subjects* of law,) that nothing can politically impair the supreme force, pre-eminent authority, and fundamental obligations of that written compact and treaty, the bond of the federal union. It was intended and is a refuge for the oppressed, a defence for the minority from the encroachments of the majority; the strong, moral, and political fortress for the defence of the rights and sovereignty of the States and the people.

If we look to history and the constitution to learn the *nature* of our federal government, our federal rights, liberties, and obligations, we shall see that they rest ultimately and fundamentally on compacts and covenants. *To keep the faith of these covenants, therefore,* is the very life, truth, and bond of the federal union. The citizens of the States have two classes of rights. Federal and State *rights* as *rulers;* they also are under two kinds of *obligation*, as *subjects* of the Federal and State government. This union was made for the preservation of the States, and not for their destruction. It was made for that welfare of the States which is general and common to them all, in opposition to that welfare which is local, sectional, geographical It was made for the welfare of the people of all the States, in things common to them all; the common or general welfare; and not to promote the welfare of any favored sections.

Before South Carolina entered the Union, she was a free, sovereign, and independent State; when she entered the Union it was not by compulsion. She (in common with the old thirteen) freely gave, and specifically, certain of her sovereign powers to the federal government. All the rest she reserved to herself. To the freemen of this State belonged all her own citizens, subjects, and territory, all the royal and sovereign powers and prerogatives, that kings, emperors, or any other mere human rulers, ever rightfully had, or could have in civil and supreme political government and dominion. The citizens were kings and subjects, rulers and people, each sustaining in his own person a double character, that of ruler and that of subject. As rulers they were bound by the high obligations of morality and honor to help each other unto death, in maintaining their royal prerogatives and rights as sovereigns.

Suppose the States, instead of having been republics, had been kingdoms, and the kings, instead of the States, had made the federal constitution and government. Think you a king worthy of the office would have submitted to the decree of a coalition of the kings, which usurped his right to govern his own people? or taxed them without warrant of constitutional law? or deprived him of his title to the federal domain?

And if the same regal dominion and sovereignty is in citizen freemen themselves; should they not be as jealous of their rights, honor, and independence, and as prompt to defend them as a king would have done? If the most precious and honorable temporal inheritance is committed to the heirs themselves, surely if they are worthy of their birth-right they will not profanely sell it for a mess of pottage. If they are not capable of appreciating the value of regal and sovereign prerogatives, they still need kings, or emperors, as tutors, governors, judges, and defenders; and are as yet unfit for the royal law of liberty.

The rights and obligations of individuals as *subjects* of the general government, are the topics which have mainly engrossed the attention of the rulers and the courts of the federal union. Lawyers have studied the constitution mainly in its relations to the *subjects* of federal law. But statesmen like Mr. CALHOUN have studied the history, genius, and principles of our federal system in reference to the rights of the States, and the people of the States *as rulers;* the sovereign rights and moral and political duties of the makers of the constitution, the creators and lawgivers of Congress itself. Lawyers, by professional training, practice, and habits, are apt to take a purely *legal* view of the constitution; and their reverence for precedents, their "*stare decisis,*" their habits of thought, reasoning, and judgment, veil from their eyes the truth and glory of the sovereign prerogatives which belong to the States and the people.

In religion, a man of a legal spirit, who looks only to his personal relation to law as its subject, can never see the glory of the gospel which reveals the sovereignty, wisdom, justice, truth and mercy of the creator and lawgiver, in the person of the supreme Lord Himself, the son of man and the son of God. So in politics a man whose habits of mind are legal; who ponders upon the *subjects* of law and their relations to it; cannot see the sovereignty, righteousness, and imperial dominion, which history and the constitution reveal to be in, and of right to belong to, *the States,* and the *people* of the States, as the lawful heirs of all the royal and imperial powers and prerogatives which king and parliament had over the colonies before the revolutionary war.

We have had in the federal government, unfortunately, too many lawyers, and too much law, too many soldiers and too much military despotism, too few statesmen and political prophets like Mr. CALHOUN, to preach the political gospel to the people, and to defend the perfect law of their sovereign liberties.

The rights of the States can never be defended by federal or national parties. The past had proved that position to a demonstration. These

rights must be maintained by the States themselves, or their own people, where rights, honors, or liberties may be invaded by federal usurpation. If they do not understand or are not willing to maintain them, if need be, by the sword, they are unworthy of them; and their inheritance will be taken from them, and given to a people more worthy than they.

Viewing matters in this light, Mr. CALHOUN looked upon the American System as a policy of sheer usurpation and plunder; and upon all Congressional enactments made under its auspices, as without any warrant of power from the federal constitution; and as simply and absolutely void; without any civil, political or moral validity; not laws but impositions; and that the virtue and patriotism of our citizens was manifested, in coming together in convention, and in declaring, in their royal and sovereign capacity, *these truths*, and in thus nullifying these pretended laws.

I know it is said to be the duty of the citizens to bow to the enactments of Congress, and (if their constitutional validity is questioned) to await the decision of the Supreme Court. This we admit to be true of the private citizen, and his affairs, as the *subjects* of law. But we are speaking of the arm of a sovereign State, and of her citizens in convention, in their capacity of sovereign rulers; of *their right* to stretch forth the arm of the State to defend her own sovereignty, which she has never granted *to all Congress together*, but which is usurped by a coalition of sectional majorities; of the right of a State to *be* a State, and to defend her own people from the venality, rapacity and ambition of a ruling faction in the federal government. If there is any such attribute as sovereignty rightfully belonging to a State; if there be one, a single right, in its nature sovereign; then no other power on earth may lawfully dictate to her when and how to use it. If it be usurped or its free exercise obstructed, by the federal government (and it cannot be denied that such a thing may happen) and there be no constitutional mode for a peaceful redress, then the State has a sovereign right (responsible for its exercise only to heaven) to draw the sword in her own defence; for to affirm that she has a right of an imperial sovereign nature, and no lawful mode by which to exercise such a high power, or to resist its infringement, is to deny the power itself. It is to put the State, in a matter in which she is admitted to have liberty, under the judges or governors, in that very thing wherein, if she bows to their authority, she must *ipso facto* renounce her own liberty.

Col. Drayton, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, moved in his place, to amend the preamble of the tariff law, so that it might tell the truth on its face; he moved to declare in the

preamble the real objects of the law; that it was not merely to raise a revenue for the public service, (as it had been framed to read) a power all admit Congress have a right to exercise; but also to state that a substantive object of the enactment, was *to protect domestic manufactures.* His avowed object was to obtain the judgment of the Supreme Court, as a peaceful and constitutional arbiter, upon the question of the *right* of Congress to pass *such* a law. But the sectional majority rejected his amendment, and thus refused the opponents of the measure the protection of that Court, which was ordained by the constitution for that very end. That Court could not, in deciding upon the constitutionality of a law of the federal legislature, go out of the preamble for the motives and objects of the law. They were shut up to the record. Thus the same sectional majority that imposed their policy on the people barred the door of their access to the Supreme Court, bent (according to the universal instinct of power) upon having things their own chosen way; and making their mere will and good pleasure stand for law to their fellow citizens.

It was at this juncture that Mr. CALHOUN threw himself, and his State went with him, and fell in the gap that had been made in the mountains of the constitution, to save it from ruin; to preserve the federal Union; to protect the people of this State from usurpation and robbery, and to maintain the cause of political liberty, and public justice, against the absolute domination of a sectional popular majority.

And here it may be pertinent to pause, and consider the height and length and depth of the principles of political liberty and law involved in that conflict.

Liberty, political and religious, is an honor, dignity and blessing, that all men are not capable of appreciating, enjoying and defending. It cannot be strictly a personal inheritance, because a certain degree of virtue, intelligence and heroism are necessary to comprehend its value, and keep it as a possession. The moral nature of man is so sensual, slothful and brutish, that a people in its bondage, where conscious wants are merely personal, sensual, and physical, are incapable of political and religious liberty. Thus when the Lord stretched forth his arm to deliver Israel from the bondage of Pharoah, the people fainted under the moral and rational discipline that was necessary to qualify them for a national and civil liberty under the constitution and laws of Moses. Their very souls loathed and abhorred a *liberty of law;* that demanded self-denials and self-sacrifices. They longed for the yoke of Egypt again; that after their daily tasks were done, they might sit down by the flesh pots, and indulge their personal ease and sensual pro-

pensities. It is so naturally with all people. None but an intelligent, virtuous and high-spirited race, rightly value this treasure. Corrupt or selfish men, if they have a sensual or personal liberty, are on this point content. To offer them the gift of moral, religious or political liberty is like, "casting pearls before swine." They can see no more beauty or value in these treasures of the spirit, than a mule can discern of wisdom in the proverbs of Solomon.

And here we would remark, that the nature of the virtue and intelligence of which we speak, is the knowledge and right appreciation of the high concerns of law, morality and politics. A people may be able to read and write; be skilled in the ornamental and useful arts, flourish in commerce and manufactures; abound in polite literature, be adorned with the refinements, and revel in the luxuries of wealth, and of the highest civilization, and yet in their political characters be as tame, obsequious, and servile, as the courtiers and poets, the artists, orators and historians who flourished in the palaces of Augustus; and not only may they be politically degraded, but morally and religiously they may be the "vilest, meanest, basest of mankind."

Again. They take a very defective view of our inheritance of civil, political and religious liberties, who regard them mainly as the trophies of our revolutionary war. To say nothing of the holy men of old, and prophets in Israel, and apostles to the nations, who by their examples teach us to die, if need be, in the defence of spiritual freedom, and to maintain a good confession. To say nothing of the galaxy of heroes, statesmen and martyrs of other lands, and former ages; who have labored, suffered and died to win this crown of glory! consider the sacrifices made by our own ancestors in Church and State. A great sum did our fathers pay for these liberties, though we were free born. Magna charta, the bill of rights, the *habeas corpus*, the rebellion, the revolution in England, are epochs in British history marking the progress of liberty in the State. And what treasures of experience and wisdom, truth and justice, have we inherited in the "common law," and "law of parliament" of England.

In the Church, to go back no further than the epoch of the great reformation in the fifteenth century; mark the sacrifices and martyrdoms of the millions in Christendom, who to maintain the religious freedom of man from the dominion of man; men and women (of whom this world is not worthy) choosing rather to die in the liberty of the gospel; "that they might obtain a better resurrection" than save their bodies alive by sacrificing that priceless jewel of the soul.

In the State, the conflict has been between the claims of royal pre-

rogative, and the civil and political rights of the people. In the Church the struggle was mainly between the assumptions of the Hierarchy, of divine authority, to lord it over the consciences of men, and the natural, moral and religious duty and liberty, of every man in matters of conscience and religion; to bow personally to the supreme authority of his Creator, Law-giver and Judge; free from restraint or responsibility to any mere creature or power under heaven; provided, in the use of this liberty he do not interfere with the equal duties and liberties of others, nor violate the civil laws in reference to civil things. In our political and religious liberties, we have a venerable and awful communion with all that was holy and noble in mankind that has passed away; and if not deaf to the voice of history, and dead to the most sacred impulses of the soul, we will not be insensible to the honor, the danger and the responsibility of keeping pure and unsullied, the spiritual and regal treasures of our birthright. The beauty and excellence of our political constitution consists mainly in this; that it emancipates the Church from the bondage of the State (a condition of subjection in which the Protestant Churches of Europe are,) and it also emancipates the State and people from the bondage of the Church (a yoke which Roman Catholic countries have more or less to bear.) But happily the goodness of the Lord, in overruling the builders when laying the foundation of our civil, political, and religious liberties, has bequeathed to us a liberty from both yokes of bondage. The civil power in our land has no spiritual jurisdiction; and the ecclesiastical power has no civil authority or sanction. (I ask your attention to these observations as I shall advert to these principles in an important bearing hereafter.)

A peculiar glory of our federal constitution is that it is a *written* compact. "Thus and thus it is written." "How readest thou?" Here will be found the fire and the power of truth, for the hands of every faithful generation, to burn up and consume the chaff and rubbish; which may at any time cover and hide the truth and majesty of the supreme law of the land; whether these impositions be the glosses of vain and ambitious statesmen, federal laws, traditions or usages, or federal adjudications.

Federal laws and judicatures are the defences of the citizens as the *subjects* of laws. But the Sovereign States, and their people, the creators of the constitution, the makers and lawgivers of Congress (in every matter touching their own sovereignty, or royal prerogative) are their own lawgivers, judges and rulers, and must be, while a vestige of sovereignty remains in them; "*quoad hoc*" they cannot be under "tutors and governors."

Our constitution in politics, like the standard of our faith and practice in religion and morals, our fundamental law, *is written;* and so plain that any honest citizen may hear or read and understand for himself; "the wayfaring man though a fool need not err therein."

Whether the federal government have a right or warrant from the written constitution, for the enactment of a law, may be the question; and the humblest citizen of this country has the right, and it may be his duty, to put the question in reference to some enactment of Congress. "By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?" Our constitution is not a matter of history and tradition, like the constitution of England and the common law. It requires not the oracles of the crown, nor the learned adepts of the temple, to tell us *what it is.* For thus and thus it is written, and thus and thus it must be. All who can read, may read for themselves, and all who can hear, may hear for themselves; and all must at last judge and act for themselves, or in this momentous affair renounce their mental and moral freedom.

Firmly convinced of the truth of these principles, Mr. CALHOUN counseled his State to act upon them; to fall back upon the written constitution; to read and understand her own rights, and then to defend them. To shield herself from the ruinous effects of the sectional coalitions of the east and west; which not only plundered her people of their property, but what was of far higher moment, abolished the federal constitution, dissolved the federal Union, and practically reduced the South to the political degradation of worse than colonial dependence.

At this juncture of public affairs, the people of South Carolina met in convention, and acting upon the great political principles which we have endeavored to delineate, they declared and proclaimed the tariff laws unconstitutional, and therefore null and void and of no force or efficacy in South Carolina; and to defend and maintain their position they were obliged to fall back upon their arms.

Had the federal government opened the ear to the just and indignant complaints and protests that had gone up to Washington from our whole people, there would have been no necessity of nullification; and if that government had respected her sovereign rights in the nullification of the tariff, she need not have girded on the sword. But her petitions and remonstrances were unheeded by Congress, and her sovereignty made a mockery and a jest.

Mr. CALHOUN, at the call of his State, resigned the office of Vice President, and took his place in the Senate. It was a most awful

moment. Against the position of South Carolina were arrayed both Houses of Congress; the solid North, East, and West; nearly the whole of the South; and all of one-third of her own citizens, who were in arms against her. General Jackson was at the head of the federal army and navy, dealing out death to CALHOUN and the nullifiers, "like an imperial Cæsar." Scott, the federal general, was in Charleston. The federal troops and ships began to shew signs of life and motion—and the federal expresses were flying incessantly between Charleston and Washington.

South Carolina stood firm. Her devoted sons in arms resolved to die rather than sacrifice the constitution, the federal Union, and the liberties of their country.

Nothing but her own deep conviction, that her cause was the cause of truth, righteousness, independence, law, and honor, could have sustained the State. She literally stood alone. All her sister States frowned upon her. Public opinion, upon the wings of the wind, was loud and distinct; and had no words for her, but those of scorn, derision, and reproaches; shame! ruin! disunion! treason! That crisis can never be forgotten by those who then lived.

The State troops were standing in the tracks they had made from their feet; enrolled, armed, equipped and ready for battle, "facing their own music," trembling for their country; but firm as rocks themselves. Then was the time when father was arrayed against son, and brother against brother in arms; when our women and little ones turned pale; when our Christians fasted and prayed; when "our rich men looked sad;" and when none among us but "villains danced and played."

The cause of the State had doubtless unseen and powerful allies; and had federal lead or federal steel shed one drop of Palmetto blood, in this cause, thousands of patriots and heroes would have rallied round the banner of State independence. In the North, in the East, and in the West, the Luthers and the Chathams would have prayed or have pleaded for our cause; their Hampdens and their Cromwells would have been fighting with our armies.

The cause in which South Carolina drew her sword was not a narrow, sectional interest; she followed not the leaders in the sacred cause of political and constitutional freedom, "for the loaves and the fishes," but for the love of truth, justice, independence and honor. To submit to an arbitrary dominion, having no moral, civil or political authority; to bow the neck to such a master, is the very essence of political slavery; and that was the naked ground on which South Carolina took

her position in nullification. At that juncture the spirit of true liberty seemed to have abandoned most of the people in the United States, while the enemies were hosts. Many among us, like the servant of the prophet, were ready to cry in dismay, "alas, my master, how shall we do?" Had *their* eyes been opened, they too might have seen the chariots and the horsemen that were round about our political Elisha, and have known that "they that were with us, were more than they that were against us," 2 Kings, vi: 13–18. Not a State in this Union but some of her gallant and heroic sons pledged their lives in the cause of South Carolina; their names were written upon the scroll of honor, among the archives of the State, and will go down as a refreshing perfume and a memorial to posterity.

Mr. CALHOUN was, in the Senate, regarded by all the world as the false prophet and rebel spirit, whose influence at home had brought his own State into a position of imminent peril and of certain discomfiture. He knew mankind would hold him morally responsible for the issue. Yet, there he stood erect, fearless, calmly facing a "frowning world;" upholding the pillars of the constitution, determined if that perished to fall with the liberties of his country.

We will pass over his noble speech on "the Force Bill." We will here forget all human agency, and recognize the mercy of an overruling Providence, at this instant of time, in opening the ears of our federal rulers, to hearken to the small voice of truth, honor, justice and independence. A compromise was proposed, and the obnoxious tariff law devoted to a gradual death; the majesty of the constitution was vindicated; the doctrine of the supremacy of popular majorities formed by sectional coalitions received a check; and the American System, which had already received many grievous wounds, seemed now about to be consigned to the history of past impositions.

A reformation in the legislative government of the federal Union commenced with the restoration of the constitution.

The reserved rights of the States, their proper sovereignty, and their federal relations as equals in the Union and by the constitution, began to be recognized and respected.

Several years now rolled on; and we again hear the bruit of war. General Scott is upon the British boundaries; there are skirmishes among the border men; the boundary line is disputed; the people on both sides inflamed and in arms. The mind of the North becomes greatly excited; and diplomatic intercourse with England threatening. The honor and dignity of the British crown are touched, and the whole power of that empire is in battle array. Mr. Webster is in the Depart-

ment of State, anxious for a peaceful and honorable adjustment of the controversy, but the Senate is chafed, sullen and doubtful. Mr. CALHOUN is consulted by the cabinet, whether he will support their policy. He consents—and, with all his powers, vindicates the justice and equity of the Ashburton treaty. It is done. The calamities of a war are arrested, and the honor, peace and interest of the country maintained.

Again. When Secretary of State in Mr. Tyler's cabinet, it is admitted on all hands, that the consummate ability, sleepless vigilance, and prompt decisive conduct of Mr. CALHOUN, defeated the wiles of British diplomacy, in reference to the republic of Texas; annexed that vast and valuable country to this federal Union, and in such a way and on such terms and conditions, as manifested a forecast and wisdom, the happy issues of which upon this whole country, and especially upon the South, will never be duly estimated by the present generation.

Again. Mr. CALHOUN is at home, on his plantation, a private citizen. Mr. Polk is President, the political firmament is overcast with dark and threatening clouds; and the tones of distant thunder are heard muttering the sounds of war over the federal capital. When distinctly heard the cry is '*fifty four forty or fight.*" Our whole people are aroused. The universal shout from the great West is for battle; her members in the Senate and House are blowing loud the war trumpet. The voice of J. Q. Adams is ferocious, pouring out threatenings and defiance to England. The war policy is openly avowed by the administration, who have a fixed majority in both wings of the Capitol. The President, in his message, made his mark for the entirety of the Oregon treaty. The administration was committed. The whigs, a weak minority, dispirited and desponding sat appalled!

At the call of his country Mr. CALHOUN left the repose of home, and appeared again in the arena in the Senate. His very presence there inspired hope and confidence in the drooping spirits of his countrymen. The vast body of the people were not disposed for war, in a controversy for the doubtful title to a portion of territory; where merely the value of land was concerned, if there were nothing that touched our independence or honor.

Mr. CALHOUN comprehended the whole case. The day after his arrival in Washington, he gave notice that he would oppose an appeal to arms. He denounced the violent excitement among our federal rulers on the subject, as absolute madness. He rolled back the angry billows of strife; calmed the troubled waters; maintained the peace and honor of the country; and put the question of the Oregon boundary in a train for an amicable and definite settlement.

Long, long, had Mr. CALHOUN, with his prophetic political sagacity, foreseen and foretold the coming of the Abolition Philistines that are now upon us; and when our State threw herself in the gap of the constitution, which the overflowing waters of the American system had made, it was hoped by him that the repairing of that breach would be strong enough to resist this worse than savage invasion.

The moral right of domestic government over slaves, stands precisely upon the same foundation as the moral right of civil and parental government. It rests upon the Divine authority, the only moral basis for the dominion of man over man. The form of political government is of human authority merely. The thing itself has the Divine sanction. In form it may be absolute or limited monarchy, elective or hereditary; it may be a republic, an oligarchy, a democracy; or it may be of a composite form, partaking of the peculiar features of any or all the preceding, as our own perhaps does. But where a government, under any of these political forms, exists "*de facto*," there are the rulers and the subjects, the governors and the governed; and the relative moral obligations of the rulers and people grow historically and actually out of this civil relation. What these moral obligations are respectively, it is one of the objects of the Christian religion to teach and enforce by spiritual sanctions. Christian men, whether rulers or subjects, learn their moral duties from the written word of the Lord. *That* teaches them to "render unto Cæsar the things that *are* Cæsar's."

Good citizens who know and feel *not* the obligations and liberty of the Gospel, yet acknowledge themselves bound in conscience and honor, to bow to the authority and supremacy of the constitution and laws of their country; among which are the solemn national covenants and treaties. They avow and feel the force of the moral bonds of truth, justice, equity, and honor. It was the distinctive feature in the philosophy of the celebrated Hobbes, *that the civil law* was the *only* law for conscience; that it was *the* moral law.

Now a *law*, moral, civil, or political, in its true definition, (as is its essence and nature,) is a rule of one who *is* a superior by nature or by office, to the subject of law; and to which rule, the inferior or subject is bound, in conscience, (in moral law) to conform.

It is, therefore, of amazing import to the peace, liberties, and welfare of our country, what are the moral principles that govern the consciences of our rulers and people in the discharge of their civil and political duties.

Notwithstanding the number of moral and political heresies that have agitated the North and East for the last thirty years; notwithstanding

the rotten theology that to a considerable extent has triumphed, and which, unless repented of, and something better obtained, will destroy the reign of all law, liberty, and morals; yet we believe the moral sentiments openly avowed by Mr. Seward in the Senate, have caused many among his own people to pause and consider. The poison of the moral serpent is now conspicuous; the liar and the murderer is no longer hid within the skin of a reptile. The confession of the high priest, witnesses and avows to the world that the old serpent the devil, the god of this world, who reigns in the hearts of the children of disobedience, is the deity they worship. The false prophet is unveiled, and abolitionism, in its moral, civil, and political aspects, is developed. The subtlety, falsehood, ambition, and treachery, by which this serpent wormed its way to the floor of Congress, is characteristic of the spirit who animates the system. And as to the position of its federal champion, after his avowal that no laws or oaths would bind him in opposition to the supreme authority of his own conscience, (the man within his breast,) in my humble opinion he should have been promptly impeached or expelled from the Senate. And if something be not done by the Senate or the Legislature of his own State, publicly to brand his moral position with infamy, it will be a foul blot on the moral character of our people.

The States and the people of this country, in their fundamental law, *require* of Senators the religious security of an oath, that they *will* administer the government, and enact laws according and in obedience to the written constitution. And when a Senator rises in his place, avows his own shame, and confesses himself to be the moral monster, whom that oath and that constitution cannot bind, "*ipso facto*" he does religiously and politically cut his own throat; and being in this sense a "*felo de se*," he can be "*de jure*" no civil ruler. A man may say his conscience is his own supreme law, that it is paramount to any other law, divine or human; yet, if such a wild beast invades the abodes of civilized men, and his conscience prompts him to steal or murder, surely it is most just that he should be whipped or hung. But when a *ruler* over 20,000,000 of his civil and political equals, proclaims that the dictates of *his* conscience shall be *the law* for them, the supreme law of legislation for a whole people, such a man is altogether a prodigy.

The conscience of abolitionism professes to be tender, sacred, and supreme. This would be no concern of the public, if such a conscience would stay at home and limit its dominion to its own subjects and owners; but it is unbounded in its imperial aspiration, and aims to govern the whole country. Its present mission is to break all the cords of Divine, constitutional, civil, and domestic law, by the power of which

the servants of this country are kept in their subordination in our system. It is a savage, unjust, unnatural, diabolical warfare upon our Southern States. In this crusade, the dictates of their consciences have demanded of abolitionists all manner of coalitions with political parties of any and every creed, that their own Aaron and Moses might obtain priestly and political dominion in the civil government of this country. To achieve this purpose that conscience dictates to its subjects, to take the solemn oath required by the constitution; to maintain and govern according to that fundamental law; and to defend the South from foreign invasion and domestic violence: and the same conscience dictates to these same abolitionists, after they become sworn rulers, to disregard the constitution; to become foreign invaders, and to ferment domestic insurrections at the South themselves; to dissolve the Federal Union, and to destroy the liberty of ourselves and of our posterity.

A conscience where moral dictates demand oaths to be taken, *to the very end* that they may be broken, is the conscience that, with its forehead of brass, rises and denounces the Southern people for immorality; for governing their own servants; keeping their own compromises, covenants, and oaths; for maintaining the integrity and supremacy of the federal constitution, the sanctity of law, and the freedom and equality of those who already are free and equal.

That a vile faction, with such moral and political principles, should have had in their grasp, for *one moment*, the political power of the North, East, and West in Congress, is a startling fact that causes the most gloomy and desponding forebodings.

The sectional coalitions on the tariffs and on abolitionism, are unmistakeable demonstrations that the written constitution, the faith of federal covenants, and the oaths of political rulers, are muniments too feeble to keep out the rapacious reign of Mammon, and the fanatical empire of the monk and the crusader. "Thieves *do* break in and steal," and the treasures of our popular liberties and State rights are yet exposed as a prey to political wolves, in sheep's or in dog's clothing. *Therefore it is* that Mr. CALHOUN, with his dying breath, demanded of all the people, and of all the States, further and stronger bulwarks in the constitution for the South; not further grants or gifts of what we have not already; not a new bargain, but better and further *security*, that what *is* due us by the bond signed, sealed, and delivered by them all, *be honestly paid*. That *justice* be done before we listen a moment to any talk of compromises. The things that touch a people's honor and independence, do not admit of compromise. That is now the true issue and the momentous question before the people of this country.

The cause of the South is now vastly stronger than when South Carolina alone confronted the physical power of the federal government, and achieved a great moral victory for the constitution, laws, and liberties of the whole country. All the legal objections against the Tariff of 1828, lay with their full force against the Wilmot Proviso, and against any other measure or policy, whatever may be its name or form, but the object of which may be to effect substantially what was the aim, scope, and end of the Proviso, to wit: to degrade the Southern States, to put them under the ban, to deny to them the dignity and equality due to the other States in the Federal Union, and to rob them of all share in the possession of the common federal territories. These are the monstrous propositions of the present coalition of the North, East, and West, against the equal rights and liberties of the South. And what aggravates the injustice and insult of such a policy is, that our masters make it with them a matter of conscience!

Nothing but a strong leaven of Luciferian morality could possibly have so polluted and inflamed the consciences of the people in these sections. Old time robbers and pirates, though they may have had some *plaster* for their consciences, were not wont to plead the *authority* of conscience in defence of their enterprises; it was not a deep sense of moral obligation that constrained them to lay their violent hands upon the things that were their neighbors'; it was their love of plunder. With our disinterested and benevolent rulers, it is the mere love of the *caption*. They coolly propose to take all our inheritance in the political family, and (not seize it exclusively for their own use,) but (their Southern brethren excepted) to give it as a benevolence, to any of the families of the whole world, who choose to come and take possession!

It may well be asked by *what authority* do they propose to do these things? The answer is, by the authority of public opinion at the north, east and west; by the sanction of the moral sentiment of a "considerable portion of mankind;" and by the power of the majority. The breath of the answer blows away every vestige of the Federal Constitution; and if the scheme were consummated, it would be a moral dissolution of the Federal Union.

It seems to be the received doctrine of the dominant majority, that if a given power is granted to *be* in Congress, that a majority of both houses have the *moral* right to *use* that power as they please. That instead of being bound by the highest obligations known among men, in the fear of God, in good faith, in truth, justice and equity, to use the high powers committed to their trust, for the common welfare of all the people and States who are subject to the federal government, that

there is no moral restraint to their own *wills* or rather to the arbitrary wills and absolute domination of those whom our federal rulers are pleased to regard as their peculiar constituents. In other words, and briefly, that the *will* of the majority is the law for the minority. Legislation according to this doctrine would not be usurpation, but it would be the essence of tyranny—an oppression which, if it do not justify so prompt and decided a resistance, must be firmly and effectually repelled, or nothing of constitutional or legal justice is left us, but the mockery of the name and the form. Those of you who have read with care the late Congressional debates, must have been struck with astonishment at the avowal of the crude and arbitrary doctrines of some of our federal rulers. The manner in which they refer to the powers of Congress, over the District of Columbia, the dock-yards, forts, arsenals, &c., is an instance in point. The tendency to absolute domination is most apparent in the history of the "Wilmot" and its substitutes. Our federal masters twist the screw of oppression to the last point of practical endurance; they watch their victim, and tighten or relax their hold, as the patient manifests symptoms of submission or resistance; as though their *rightful* power extended to a degree of oppression and insult—a hair-breadth short of the point of armed opposition, or the dissolution of the Union. "By *me*," saith the Lord, "Kings rule, and Princes decree *justice*." The political powers our federal rulers *do have*, surely they are under moral obligations to use *justly*.

When that power which actually reigns in Congress, is a fixed majority, made up of sectional coalitions; and when the direction of that power is dictated by public opinion, (a wind blowing from the same sections,) then all the moral, legal and constitutional bonds of the Federal Government and Union, are virtually dissolved, and the government becomes one of mere sufferance on the part of the States and people; and we, the citizens of this country, have no just government over us but that of our own State. If the type of oppression be usurpation or tyranny, in either case, it will be necessary to consider and weigh well the condition of affairs, that we may keep our consciences clear; and whether we live or die, that we be found in the path of constitutional, civil and moral law, in the way of our *duty*.

As all our present troubles spring from the slavery and majority questions, and as the moral character of slavery is at the root of that matter, it may be pertinent to consider for a moment that question; and also what is the real value and weight, politically and morally, of *any* numerical majority in our federal legislative government.

History, sacred and profane, testifies to the existence of slavery from

the earliest antiquity. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were slaveholders. The Jews, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans all had the institution of slavery among them, and neither sacred nor profane history records the sentiment or judgment of *moral* evil or sin in the institution. Its lawfulness, or the *moral right* of this form of human government, has not been called in question among mankind in Church or State, till this generation. Neither Moses nor the prophets; neither our Lord nor his Apostles, though they were living among masters and slaves, ever denounced the institution as a moral evil. Neither the African, Asiatic, Greek or Roman Churches, ever denounced it, though it was an institution in the midst of them all. No Protestant Church has ever condemned it; no decrees of Ecclesiastical councils, and no traditions of the Church, have ever condemned it as a moral evil.

The first notice I can find in history of abolition doctrine, is just one hundred years ago. In 1750, John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, two quakers at the north, seemed fully possessed of the abolition spirit, and in 1754 the Friends or Quakers in America, abolished slavery in their communion, and excommunicated slave-holders; up to that epoch the Friends had not a knowledge of the moral evil of slavery. But as they are a sect who avow the authority of the "inward light," in matters of morals and religion; and as they did not profess to have made their discovery from the things written in Scripture, Christian denominations who made the *written word* of God their only rule of faith and morals, paid no attention to the dreams of the Quakers.

About forty years from the time of the Apostleship of Woolman and Benezet, Clarkson and Wilberforce began to declaim in England against the slave *trade*. That (notice) is only about sixty years ago. Mr. Wilberforce first introduced this subject into the Imperial Parliament in 1787. He then received no favor, but that man annually renewed his motion for seventeen years, till in 1804 the African slave *trade* was abolished by the British Parliament. During those years Wilberforce, Clarkson, and the abolitionists were agitating the Churches and the country with their schemes. The Africans were then, and are yet, a people heathen, and exceedingly degraded for heathen. They lived mostly in little tribes, often at war, and mutually making slaves of their captives; so that in Africa they exist (the great body of them) in a condition of slavery to the head men or Kings of these petty African kingdoms. The Portuguese and Spaniards first commenced this trade, with the view to the cultivation of their American colonies. The English followed their lead. The slaves were bought by the European traders of their masters in Africa. Whatever may be said of the moral char-

acter of that traffic, its effects have been providentially overruled for good to the descendants of the imported Africans. *They* have been raised from heathenism, idolatry, (some of them from cannibalism,) from extreme degradation and wretchedness, and from *slavery* to men as degraded and vile, to a position where they *inherit* and enjoy more physical, social, moral and religious blessings, than the *poor* of any Christian nation in the world.

The British having, themselves, abolished the slave trade, began to exert their influence with all other nations to abolish the trade also. The penalty of their laws was, first, a fine; then the traffic was declared a felony; then piracy, with the death-penalty. British diplomacy has kept agitating all the Cabinets in Christendom, till nearly all have united in pronouncing this traffic a crime against the laws of all civilized nations. The fleets of the nations, (our own not excepted,) with the British in the lead, have for years, at an immense cost of life and money, been employed upon the African coast to break up and totally destroy this trade.

Formerly, when the traffic was lawful, and the traders fair and honest men, there was doubtless much cruelty and suffering connected with the business. But now, when none but pirates and desperadoes are willing to embark in the trade, the evils to the captives are greatly aggravated; and instead of suppressing the trade, it is carried on now to a greater extent, and under more cruel auspicies, than before Wilberforce began his agitation.

Sir Fowell Buxton, a member of Parliament, and a leading abolitionist, in a report to the House of Commons, stated that it was an axiom at the Custom House, that *no* illicit trade could be suppressed, if its profits were equal to thirty per cent. That French, Spanish, Portuguese and American cruisers were incessantly engaged in the African slave trade. He affirms that 80,000 slaves are annually taken to Brazil; 60,000 to Cuba; 10,000 to other places; that 150,000 are annually brought to the continent and islands of America; double the number that were ever imported in any one year, before Wilberforce commenced his abolition measures. But the British Parliament have pushed their policy beyond the slave trade: 20,000,000 pounds sterling has Parliament appropriated to pay British subjects for their slaves, which the government have emancipated in the West Indies. Other European nations (instigated by the British,) have followed their example, and liberated the African slaves in their American colonies. British diplomacy; the British press, religious and secular; the British Churches, and abolition societies; the British statesmen, orators poets and literati; the British

*people*, have succeeded in *manufacturing* a public opinion among the Christian nations, that the institution of slavery is sinful, a dishonor and a blot to any country. It is an historical fact that the present moral sentiments and religious feelings of "a considerable portion of mankind," in reference to slavery, are of British *manufacture*. The people of this country at the north, at the east, and at the west, have been poisoned by this false and anti-christian morality; the minds of our fellow-citizens in those sections, have become exceedingly inflamed against slavery; and though there are there vast numbers of Christian people, who know the thing is not sinful, yet to a man they are, in their feelings and sympathies, opposed to the institution. They think it is a stigma upon the face of this whole country, in the eyes of the civilized world!

If the British statesmen had wished a wedge to split asunder this country, and destroy the prosperity of a people whom they have dreaded more than any people on earth, as their rivals in commerce and manufactures, they could not have contrived a more effective instument to accomplish such an object, than this British abolition morality. A people whom they never could subdue by their arms, they have conquered by their moral machinery and manufacture, so that the people north, east and west, whom British cannon could not move, are now trembling like the leaves of the aspen, at the breath of British opinion!

It is necessary, therefore, for the South to defend herself before the whole world; and she falls back on the immoveable bulwarks of Scripture, and upon the moral sentiments of all mankind, in the Church and out of it, from the time of Abraham to the time of the Apostleship of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet.

There have been at all times, (yet never so many as in modern times,) *theories* broached concerning the dignity of human nature, "the rights of man," liberty, equality, fraternity, &c., which, if true, would, by consequence, destroy the institution of slavery, and all other lawful dominion of man over man. Wild theories abounded in the days of our revolution, and wilder still in that of the French, which injured the men of those generations, and whose malign influences are yet too much felt in our day. The world is now full of such cruelties, fooleries, and vain imaginations that deceive, hurt or ruin not a few.

But we must leave dreamers and their fancies, and hearken to the word of God.

Such is the condition of mankind, that all nations have among them *the poor*, "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water." "The poor (said Jesus) you have always with you." We know in the natu-

ral, and in the spiritual, the body is not one member, but many. 1 Cor. xii: 14–27. We believe it should be so also in the political and social bodies; "and that the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the foot, I have no need of thee." Toward the institution of slavery the Lord, from the time of Abraham, hath, in his wisdom and mercy, showed great favor. It is an establishment not merely for the benefit of the master, but a permanent house in the social system for the protection, support and comfort of the poor. Under the patriarchal, legal and Gospel dispensations, this institution of domestic government is among those "powers that are ordained of God." Rom. xiii: 1.

I. The covenant with Abraham expressly included children and *slaves*. Gen. xvii: 12–13. "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised." Thus with Abraham and the fathers, slavery was not merely tolerated, as on the footing of a mere sufferance, an error that was winked at, but it was a law ordained of the Lord.

II. So under Moses, in the time of the theocracy, the form of domestic government over slaves, the institution of slavery, was established by the divine lawgiver; and while hirelings were treated as heathen and strangers; while they had no interest in the family, Church or State, the slaves in Israel were protected, and had the blessings and securities of domestic, civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and an interest in the promises of the everlasting covenant. The hireling had a right to nothing, but the wages of his day. The slave had a moral and civil right for life, a birth-right, an inheritance of "bread to eat and raiment to put on."

III. Under the Gospel, slavery was treated, by our Saviour, as an existing and lawful institution, and by his apostles he enforces the relative duties of masters and slaves; where that relation subsisted among his disciples. Thus, servants are commanded to be subject to their masters, with all fear, not only to "the good and gentle," but "*also* to the froward," for this is acceptable to God. 1 Pet. ii: 18–21. Here it is written down "*in totidem verbis*" that this service "is acceptable to God." Eph. vi: 5–10. The rightful dominion of the master is also expressly written down. Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that *you* also have a *master* in "Heaven." Col. iv: 1. Here Scripture recognises masters *as such* to be *the servants* of the Lord; and if we are in our *masterdom*, *His servants*, who may lawfully, or safely, come between Him and us in this matter? "Who art thou that judgest another's servant? to his

own master he standeth or falleth." James iv: 11–13; Rom. xiv: 4. Thus in all the forms of the Divine economy, in His providence over His people, under the patriarchal, legal, and Gospel dispensations, the institution of slavery has been sanctified by the Word of the Lord.

The rightful dominion, dignity, and authority of the master is then plainly established by written Word of God. The master's office is a high and holy trust; to God must he give an account, like all other human rulers; and so must our servants, like all other subjects of human government, give an account of their obedience and fidelity.

As to the execrations of abolitionists, they may see their features portrayed in Scripture, by the pen of apostles. In the epistle of Jude, in 2d. Pet. 2d chap. and also in 1st Timothy, 6th chap. 1—6 verses.

Every one born a slave in this country has a moral and civil birthright to food and clothing, care and support in sickness, and in old age. If the master becomes poor, and unable to do his duty, the arm of the law takes his servant and puts him into the hands of one abler to support him. The poor of Europe, and especially of England and Ireland; the poor of the North, have no earthly inheritance; many of them are thieves, vagabonds, idlers, many sick; they are kept alive in public poor establishments; in some countries at an enormous expense, which constitutes a heavy tax on the industry and thrift of the people. There are no idlers, vagabonds, drunkards, among our servants; they are kept in their places, and made to work.

The Lord who knoweth what is *in* man, and needeth not to be told *that*, in the pecuniary relation of slaves to owners, in the very article of "*property* in man," has given the slave a strong guarantee, from the injustice or violence of others abroad, and for good treatment at home. Thus Moses ordains, that if a man smites his own servant with a rod and kill him, yet if the servant live a day or two, the master shall not be punished, because the servant was "*his money.*" That is the reason given by Moses why the master under such circumstances, shall go unpunished, *because his servant was his money*, therefore, no malice shall be presumed in the bosom of the owner against the life of his slave. Exod. xxi. 21. The Lord knoweth there are few things among men which they love more or handle more carefully than their own money. However provoked a man may have been with his servant, it is not to be presumed that he intended to kill him, because his servant is *his own* money.

Slaves have no political rights to exercise, but like the women and children under the domestic, ecclesiastical, and civil laws, and rulers, like the passengers on board a ship, though not officers or seamen,

though they do not work the vessel of State, yet they enjoy the common protection and securities of all on board.

The dominion over a slave being bodily, founded in law, divine and human, there is no *moral* slavery in his *condition*. If he be a Christian man, he serves his master, not with a servile spirit, not as bowing to a fellow creature, who has no other right than physical power to rule over him; but he renders obedience as to his ruler recognized by heaven; he obeys as serving God and not man. He renders a hearty, willing obedience, out of a pure conscience, and conviction of moral duty. He has therefore moral and spiritual freedom; his soul is free. Eph. vi. 5—9. Col. iii. 22—25. When the body of Jesus stood bound before Pilate, his spirit was free; for our great examplar bowed in obedience to the law of the land. John, xviii. 12, xix. 11. When Paul's body wore a chain, his soul was free, for the word of God was not bound. 2. Tim. ii, 9. Soldiers and sailors in the army and navy are under a most absolute dominion; obedience to which is wisely and justly secured by severe penalties. Offenders against the laws of their country, violators of the rules and regulations of the public service, should be punished, and degraded from the honorable profession of arms, and put to mean and servile employments; they should not be kept upon the roll with men of obedient, noble, virtuous and patriotic spirits.

It is the genius and tendency of abolitionism to abolish all punishments, the sanctions of law, to destroy all honors, authorities, preeminences, and dignities; that it may obtain its own liberty, equality, fraternity! To this end, every thing pertaining to law, justice, truth, honor and virtue must be abolished; that nothing may remain but the "*caput mortuum*" of a vile humanity. The service of men in the army and navy is *lawful*, therefore, good sailors and soldiers are free morally; under the most rigid discipline, their spirits are free in the service, and their duties are honorable, moral, useful, necessary. Should a sailor be seized and carried by violence on board a *piratical* vessel, and compelled to do service *there*, so long as absolute duress continued, there might be an actual, physical obedience. But a moral service there could not be; where there is no law there can be no moral obedience.

The truth is, after all that has been said, written and sung about *liberty*, none but those whom the truth and Son of God hath set free, are free indeed; all others are the servants of corruption. John, viii. 31—37. The real value of political liberty is in its being a protection in this world to men in the use and free enjoyment of moral and religious freedom.

Nothing is more significant in the movements of vicious radicals, dis-

organizers and revolutionists, than studiously to keep out of view the well established, fundamental, political and moral principles in the institutions of a people; and striking at some real or imaginary grievances or abuses, instead of attempting in wisdom, patience and self-denial the work of reform; to strike with their weapons the vital parts, and aim to destroy the whole framework of society. Thus the abolitionists, passing over the moral law written in the Scripture, the political law written in the constitution, and the civil law written in the statute books of the States, as though these presented no barrier to their infamous crusade, are always parading the absurd dogmas in the preamble to the declaration of independence; the private sentiments of Jefferson, Franklin and others; whose ideal theories of political philosophy and "the rights of man" are of no civil, moral or political value whatever. They are of no legal validity, never were and never will be, among any people who enjoy and value the blessings and securities of a constitutional and legal liberty, and a pure morality and religion.

Mr. Webster, too, whose sentiments may be supposed to represent those of the sober North, denounces domestic slavery as "a great moral, civil, and political evil." What is moral evil but sin? and what is sin but a transgression of the *moral law?* 1 John, iii. 4. Sin must be confessed and forsaken, or the sinner will never obtain mercy. Moral evil is a spiritual thing; the knowledge of divine truth and obedience to the Gospel and law of God is the only salvation from it. But Mr. Webster himself admits that the institution in question is not against the moral law *written in the Scriptures.* Yet he imagines it is somehow against *the spirit* of the supreme lawgiver. But how can the subject of any ruler, Divine or human, know the will of his Lord, but by *his own word expressed? that is the law.* The servant that turns away from the plain written law, the word of command, and chooses rather to follow the "devices, desires, and imaginations of his own heart," and to obey his own conjectures and dreams, will be beaten with many stripes. Mr. Webster ought to have known that this dodge was a mere abolition quibble. It is altogether unworthy of his mind, his heart, his position, and his character. He objects, too, (but feebly) that this domestic government over slaves, is founded in mere might, in the right of the strongest; that physical power is its sanction; that it is not like the kingdom the apostle preached; very true; doubtless the rulers in this form of human government are men and not gods. Masters of servants have like passions with Mr. Webster; and if these objections commend themselves as valid to his conscience, or to his understanding, he should resign his commission as a federal ruler and

go home; and so should all other civil rulers over mankind, who entertain such opinions; for the sanction of all human governments *is* physical force; in the last analysis it *is* the sword.

In the moral argument, Mr. Webster's great understanding could grasp hold of no premises from which he could, with his logic, honestly travel to the conclusion he evidently wanted; therefore, he took his conclusion for granted, upon the authority of public sentiment at the North. There was a perfect inanity of ethical truth, life, and virtue, in his position; yet he took it, and in endeavoring to defend it, after a few faint spasms and gasping out a few feeble words about "loving kindness," "meekness," and "the apostle," he gave it up! and this great mental elephant, in the moral struggle, died the death of a mouse, under an exhausted receiver.

Yet he abides by such a conclusion! he knows the institution is not against *civil* law, for it is civil law that makes it. He knows it is not against political law, for the constitution sanctifies it, and yet he is not ashamed to stand up in his place, and to condemn the written law of God, the written law of one-half of the States in this Union, and the written law of the constitution of his country, and to affirm his judgment to be that they are all evils, great evils, for sustaining the domestic government of slavery in this country. True, he shelters himself behind the wall of moral sentiment at the North; and the "religious feelings of a considerable portion of mankind." Mr. Webster should rather hearken to the voice of the apostle—"If thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge."—James, iv. 11.

When "the North and a considerable portion of mankind" are our lawgivers and judges, in our domestic and State institutions, we will attend to their sentiments; till then we stand or fall to our own master. The truth is, that the least leaven of this abolition morality, "leavens the whole lump," pollutes the purity of conscience, destroys moral and mental liberty; the least taint of it, therefore, is a blight upon honor, candor, truth, justice, wisdom, freedom, and mercy. Mr. Webster will not vote the proviso, because climate and other physical laws will, in his opinion, prevent this institution from flourishing in any of the new territories of the Union; but clearly intimates, were it not so, he should vote for the measure. In principle, then, Mr. Webster is an abolitionist; policy only prevents his acting with them. It is amazing to me what such a man can do with his conscience, his oath, and with the constitution! Ah, but, says Mr. Webster, public sentiment, both North and South, has changed very much since the adoption of the federal constitution—granted; but has the written constitution of the

country changed? has *the law* of the land changed? Do the unstable and changing winds of Northern opinion, nullify the laws and constitution of this country?

Upon the whole, Mr. Webster has fallen back on a position far short of what public affairs demanded. In morals, however, Mr. Webster is far above and out of sight of such men as Mr. Seward. Mr. Webster feels bound in conscience and honor to keep the faith of federal treaties and federal covenants; and, as a ruler, to do as he has sworn.

The sentiments of these two men, probably, shadow forth those of the two great parties to which they belong, and which, combined with other similar elements, make up that "*public opinion*" of which we hear so much, and which threatens to over-ride the laws and institutions of the country.

That opinion, expressed by the press, religious and secular, the voices of Legislatures, and in various other modes, a few months ago, could not merely have sanctioned, but absolutely demanded the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso. One of the ominous and threatening features of the abolition heresy is that its defenders have brought their religion with their idol into the *political* temple.

If a single individual in any part of the United States were to be deprived of bodily liberty or property, on account of his religious opinions, moral sentiments, worship, or practice, that were not in violation of the *laws* of the land, the whole nation would rise as one man in his defence. The people understand the value of the constitution, as a defence to the bodies and property of individuals; and yet so blind and insensible are they to the value of the constitution, in things pertaining to the moral principles of liberty, to State rights, and to the justice due to the sovereign people of the States, in their political relations, that the North, East, and West have formed a coalition to deprive all the Southern States of their entire inheritance in every part of federal territory, (the common property of all the States,) because of a difference in moral sentiment and practice, about the institution of slavery—an institution sanctioned by *the laws* of the Southern States, and by the *supreme laws* of the Federal Union. Liberty of conscience is virtually denied to the South upon the penalty of forfeiting their interests in the public domain.

Had the Wilmot proviso (or the poison of its nature) been enacted into the form of a law, this thing would have been virtually "a bill of attainder," "an *ex post facto* law," a law nullifying obligations and contracts of the constitution, a union of Church and State, a resurrection and the triumph of those principles which reigned in the "Star Chamber," and in "the High Court of Commissions." Abolition ideas of

liberty are of a physical or *bodily* freedom; sensual, lawless, and atheistic; and, like similar dreams of the French philosophers, they terminate in the establishment of mental, moral, civil, religious, and political despotism, *in the worst possible slavery!* So blind is might to what is right; so blind is *will* to what is *law* and justice. "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" is the cry; not one word of truth, justice, law, equity, or mercy!

The boundary lines of the empire of Congress are plainly marked in the written constitution; and all powers, sovereign, political or civil, not granted, are reserved to the State governments, or to the people of the States respectively. History teaches us how important and necessary it is distinctly to mark the geographical lines that separate the dominions of neighboring sovereigns. The lines that separate State and federal dominions and sovereignty, are written down in the book of the Kings; and can only be discerned by the eye of the mind, and the eye royal. How can one of the sovereign people in this country, in such a conflict of jurisdiction, as that of nullification presented, "keep a conscience void of offence toward God and man," unless he knows *which* the Cæsar is to whom his allegiance is lawfully due? In this matter, unless he surrenders his mental and moral freedom, he must, himself, go to the foundations of the government. He must attend to the words written in the federal constitution; he must enquire for historical facts; and in the best light available, he must determine for himself to whom his fealty is due. Doubtless this will require self-denial and mental labor; and is not civil, political, and religious liberty so dearly bought, worth understanding, using, and defending? It can never be enjoyed or maintained, but by those who think it is worth *all that it has cost.*

The aid of the learned is valuable to help us to come to an independent conviction of duty in our own understanding. They are generally willing to become our masters and rulers in this affair; but if we submissibly bow to their authority, we renounce our personal freedom.

The condition of public affairs, during the tariff excitement in South Carolina, *compelled* our citizens to study and search for the truth; and the position taken by the convention, and by the citizens of this State, in nullifying that pretended law, could never have been occupied or maintained, if their confidence had been in any man. It was not man worship, it was not Mr. CALHOUN and his personal influence, but it was a profound conviction of *the truth*, and a sacred reverence of the *principles*, which that man's life illustrated, and which adorned and ennobled his heroic character.

If South Carolina has had the honor of occupying the forlorn hope, *the pass* of the moral Thermopylæ, in the history of the liberties of this country, it was not more because Leonidas was her's, than that 30,000 of her other sons were Spartans.

Let us now notice what reverence and obedience is due in conscience or honor, in morals or law, from free and sovereign citizens of the State, to the written dictates of sectional majorities, (without the warrant of the constitution,) though clothed in the imposing forms of Congressional legislation.

Let us examine, for a moment, the *nature* of the majority power under our system. It is by a *covenant* that the ballot-box is substituted for the cartridge-box in our country. It is a matter of *compact* that men vote, and also what majority shall govern in the vote. The right of the majority to govern, is, therefore, a right that rests wholly on covenant.

The Roman legions having the power, may take the responsibility of appointing the Cæsar; under our system the physical power of the country is invoked to *vote*, not to fight for the civil rulers. But the *nature* of the power which *appoints* and *maintains* the civil government of a country, is the military power. An election is a sham fight, where paper is used instead of lead. When the civil governors *are* chosen, the lawful power of the legions (of the voters) is at an end; they *have* exercised *all* their political rights, and during the term of their offices, our civil rulers are of right independent of the people; for they are brought under the obligations of law, moral, and constitutional, and they cannot discharge their high duties without freedom.

The constitution expressly ordains, Art I. sec. 1., that "ALL legislative power herein granted, shall be vested *in a Congress* of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

When, therefore, our federal rulers, instead of *themselves governing* the country, as they are sworn to do, according to the best of their own judgment and ability, and according to the written constitution, hearken to the popular cry; cut the cords of the moral law which bind them; the cords of the constitution and the bonds of their own oath; when they renounce the legal unction and authority of civil *rulers*, and degrade themselves to the servile office of obedience to the commands of the majorities who elected them; when they ask and wait for the rescripts of the legions, before they dare to act in legislation, the nature of our government is virtually changed, and the military is above the civil power in the system. To that point things have been long tending, under the shallow pretext of public opinion, and under the influence of

the common error that majorities have a *right* to govern. Majorities have no other right to govern, than what they have by compact, in the form and manner and times of *voting* for their civil *rulers*, by the terms of the written State and Federal constitutions.

When rulers, like reeds shaking in the wind, tremble and bend at the whispers or clamors of popular majorities; the political body resembles the natural body of him who, renouncing the supremacy of the law, and the functions of his own understanding and conscience, gives himself up as a prey to the seductions or fury of his sensual or malignant propensities. Yea, even worse, it has not unfrequently resembled the body of the unhappy man, who dwelt among the tombs and in the mountains, possessed of a legion of devils, whom no mere creature could tame or bind with chains, and who was continually cutting himself with stones. Mark, v: 2–21. There is no hope in such a case, but when all the devils have taken full possession of all the swine, but then they will all be destroyed together!

Majorities (no matter how great) have abstractly no other right to govern than that which the natural power of the strongest may give them, "the right of might," and numerical majorities are no true tests of that power. Consider Cortez and Montezuma, Scott, and our other commanders, with their little bands holding in subjection and giving law to the millions in Mexico.

The Senators and Representatives in Congress are under moral obligations to govern this country to the best of their wisdom, in the things committed to them, according to our written fundamental law. They are, by Divine and human sanctions and authority, the *rulers*, and not the servants, of the people. Mr. CALHOUN acted upon these principles in a manner worthy the dignity and responsibility of a governor of the people; said he, "I never know what my State thinks of a measure. I never consult her. I act to the best of my judgment, and according to my conscience. If she approve, well and good. If she does not, or wishes any one else to take my place, I am willing to vacate!"

The appointing power of civil rulers, the power that keeps them in their place, and that gives effect to their legislation, is the military power; it is the power of the sword. If the legions appoint or acquiesce in the succession of a Cæsar, their whole power is exhausted. The policy of *his* civil government they have no right to dictate or control. When the civil ruler obeys the orders of the military, then there is practically no civil *government*. Under our system we are not to look for the military power of the country to the army or navy, or to the militia in actual service. The military power of this country is seen in the display of the voters at the polls.

If there be virtue enough in our whole voting population, to choose their rulers, and then promptly, conscientiously, and honorably bow to what is *the law* of the land; and if dissatisfied, patiently 'bide their time for the legal return of the period to exercise their right to vote, we shall give our constitution and our popular system a fair trial; if not, we shall probably find that the political value of the poll in our system is practically inconsistent with the existence of any civil government at all.

Our Federal constitution, under the operation of so vicious a practice, though it will be destroyed by the exercise of a power in its nature military; yet from the manner of its display and influence, its results will work out in the issues, all the confusion and horrors of anarchy. The civil government and power of *the State* will, in such a general ruin, be the only life-boat of the people.

If the foregoing observations are just, then we can perceive what a slight hold the duress of sectional majorities in Congress have upon the *conscience* of the people. The rulers, by renouncing their own moral obligations, and the law of the constitution, strip their own enactments of all moral validity.

That Mr. CALHOUN'S views of the constitution, (which we have endeavored to make the burden of our speech,) are historically, philosophically and politically true, is believed by the great body of the people of this State. That they are important to our independence, and necessary to a government of law, is certain, and their importance is becoming more and more manifest as our country expands, and new States are forming out of people coming in among us from all nations under heaven.

The Northern statesmen seem slow to receive Mr. CALHOUN'S principles; though Mr. Webster admits, that if his premises are conceded, all his doctrines are undeniable. Well, his premises are historical facts, and the written constitution; Mr. Webster seems slow of heart to believe and understand the political gospel of the constitution. When he poured out his whole heart (as he said in his speech) he declared solemnly that he *did* not, that he *could* not, believe Southern gentlemen were in earnest, when they talked of their being willing rather to dissolve the Union, than submit to political usurpation, degradation, and oppression. He seems amazed at the excitement at the South, and speaks of being willing to give $50,000,000, or even $200,000,000, to colonize our free negroes!! He seems to be under the amazing delusion that it is a *dollar business!* Mr. CALHOUN had been pleading for political *justice*. Mr. Webster offered "an alms," a benevolence! If

Mr. Webster had seen the things that Mr. CALHOUN saw, he would have understood that the South would rather have from the North moral, civil, and political *justice*, than all the liquid silver and solid gold in Mr. Webster's immense "shield of Achilles."

Mr. CALHOUN is said to have remarked, that he never made a quotation, except the following in the Southern Address. "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*," and that he left the world to judge his meaning.

The Roman arms demolished the Grecian empire, but Greek literature was too much for Roman valor.

Solomon's counsel stands yet upon record.

"When thou sittest to eat with a *ruler*, consider diligently WHAT is set before thee, and put a knife to thy throat if thou be a man given to appetite. Be not desirous of his dainties, for they are deceitful meat."

Fellow citizens—Perhaps it is due to you to say something about the length of my performance. In my preparation I considered the times, him of whom, and those to whom, I was to speak. You will find my apology in the occasion, in my theme, and in my audience.

# RION'S EULOGY.

Eulogy on Hon. J. C. Calhoun, delivered in the South Carolina College Chapel, on Saturday Evening, May 11, 1850. By Mr. James H. Rion, of Pendleton, a member of the Senior Class.

The Editor feels that this Volume would be incomplete, did it contain no allusion to this very creditable production. Whilst, therefore, he regrets that his limits do not allow of its re-publication entire, he avails himself of this mode to make just and honorable mention of it. Mr. Rion's Eulogy is, in fact, a performance at once graceful, earnest, and truthful. Nor will it be viewed with less interest when we consider that it proceeded from one who was a member of Mr. Calhoun's household, and otherwise well qualified, by talents and accomplishments, for his grateful task. To say no more, it furnishes a pleasant spectacle. Amid the crowd of mourning elders—divines, orators, and scholars—who gather around the tomb of the great dead, the young man—the student—the friend presents himself, and lays his offering down.

# MILES' DISCOURSE.

The Discourse on the occasion of the Funeral of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, delivered under the appointment of the Joint Committee of the City Council and Citizens of Charleston, in St. Philip's Church, April 26, 1850, by the Rev. JAMES W. MILES, published by the request of his Excellency WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK, and of the Joint Committee.

The memory of the just is blessed.—Prov. x: 7.

The lesson of death is never more impressive than when it calls forth the spontaneous sympathy of a nation's heart. The selfishness of private grief is then merged in the sense of a public calamity; and those tears which are the expression of a natural and justifiable weakness, become ennobled by the magnitude of an affliction which penetrates even to the homestead of the humblest citizen.

If the familiar examples of daily mortality should be sufficiently striking to arrest the thoughts of man; with what solemnity and awe should that voice be heard, which, summoning irresistibly an entire and great Commonwealth to the tomb of one of her most conspicuous leaders, bids all alike to meditate upon his dust, and to prepare to meet their God. At such a grave, the Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe stands, as it were, before an assembled Nation, and pointing to a future Judgment, calls the feebleness of mortality to look to that Power, without whose sanction, all human counsels come to naught, and in obedience to whose will, can alone be found the surest guarantee of national stability.

The power, the majesty, the wisdom of Deity, are everywhere conspicuous in the acts of His Providence. But He proclaims them in a manner far different from that by which the children of men distinguish the objects of their honor. We fill the world with our monuments, our eulogies, our acclamations, to exalt the glory of heroes, and to do homage to the virtues of the great; but the silent and resistless march of death arrests a nation with the astonishment of grief; His viewless hand in a moment levels all human grandeur in the dust; and amidst the stillness of national awe and bereavement, He sublimely proclaims that "God alone is Great."

But those solemn lessons of Providence, which appeal no less to the

national conscience than to the individual heart, not only move the *man* to reflect upon the inevitable doom of mortality and the life beyond the grave; they also call upon the *citizen* to profit by the experience of the past, to ponder the destiny of the future, and faithfully to fulfil the duty of the present.

The heroic spirit in which a young Republic must first be planted, can not be expected to maintain its unaltered vigor and purity in the progress of uninterrupted prosperity and accumulating power. Opposition and adversity are necessary for the development of the noblest qualities of man. But when the interests of the country and the public danger can no longer arouse the dormant spirit of patriotism; when the qualities which should mark the *national* character of a great and free people—a high sense of public honor and an incorruptible devotion to the duties of the citizen—appear, in time of trial, as *personal* distinctions, and thus the glory of the *individual* becomes the reproach of the *people* who are not animated by the same spirit, it is then that we may justly tremble for the destinies of a Republic.

Far be the hour, when selfishness and jealousy,—when personal ambition, forgetting principle and accountability to the Ruler of Nations, shall strengthen instead of subduing the wild phrenzy of Fanaticism, that it may be borne amidst disastrous storm to unhallowed distinction;—far be the hour, when the spirit of faction shall surrender our Confederacy to havoc and desolation!

It is only when a Nation is recreant to itself,—when it tramples down the essential elements of its own greatness,—when it spurns, and becomes, consequently, blind to the lessons of Providence, that the Divine Power, by whom alone nations are sustained in prosperity, abandons it to the weakness and ignorance of human device, and to the fury and terrible might of human passions.

It is not in her fleets, her armies, her treasures, or her domains, that the elements of a Republic's greatness and stability are to be found. These must proceed from the character of her citizens. And while this character should surpass that of the citizens of every other polity, because Free Institutions are the result of the highest development of civilization and intellect, yet should those Institutions be in advance of the national character, which alone can insure their stability, they must become corrupted and destroyed. If the spirit and character which alone can originate a Free Constitution, retrograde and decay, such a Constitution being then in advance of the national development, will prove useless to the people who no longer deserve it, and of whose political position it has ceased to be the true and necessary exponent. It

is not the written Constitution which can secure liberty; but it is the preservation of the fundamental idea upon which the Constitution is based, which can alone preserve it inviolate, and invest it with majestic authority. So soon as a nation loses, or neglects, or falls behind, the lofty principles upon which a really Free Constitution must have been founded, the written document although it may retain its nominal rank, has become already a dead letter,—valueless for the protection of rights, whose sacred character and solemn guarantee, the mass of the people have become too profligate or corrupt to appreciate and respect. A Nation in such a condition of decline, is no longer worthy of the Liberty whose fundamental principles of Equity it neither comprehends nor consults; but it is upon the sure and fatal road to anarchy, and its necessary consequence, despotism. Political freedom can no more be imparted, than the maturity of the man can be at once bestowed upon the child. License may be given; but true Freedom can only be the spontaneous and necessary result of a people's just development and wants. Hence the greatness of the Republican Statesman is not to be sought only in his high sense of national honor and his incorruptible devotion to the duties of the citizen,—for these are the common, though lofty, prerogatives of the humblest member of a Free Commonwealth; but it is the distinction of such a Statesman to foresee the dangers which threaten to corrupt and extinguish this vital national spirit,—to know how to preserve it from the insidious wiles of the demagogue,—and to animate it to full vigor, when the Constitution is threatened with invasion.

The greatness of a statesman's genius is not to be estimated simply by what he has accomplished; for his prophetic mind may reach forward to results far beyond the point where his contemporaries are able or prepared to follow. The appreciation of his wisdom must often be left to that justice which experience will compel from posterity; and hence, he will often appear greater in what he aimed at, than in what he actually effected. To triumph over the spirit of party, and induce co-operation for high national ends, is a greatness which may well satisfy the aspirations of the patriotic statesman. But to point out, amidst obloquy and the imputation of unworthy motives, a line of policy for the future so comprehensive in the scope of the objects and difficulties which it embraces and meets as not to be understood by the contemporaries who are startled at and reject it, this is the greatness of a genius whose best triumphs belong to the future,—whose present failure will only enhance the glory of the final verdict.

It is ever the distinguishing trait of such a statesman, that Truth and

Justice are dearer to his soul than political reputation and success. The desire for fame which has been called "the instinct of noble souls,"* is in him subordinate to duty and principle; and he, therefore, possesses that conviction which ever imparts so much grandeur and serenity to mental decision and moral courage,—the calm and prophetic conviction, that the severe tribunal of history must do him justice, and that the impartial judgment of posterity will appreciate his services and do honor to his motives. Politics, for him, has no ephemeral or party signification; but (to employ language which we have elsewhere used,†) it is, in his large estimation, nothing narrower or meaner, than the Science which has for its grand object the development of man as a being created for the social and political condition, in which alone the full cultivation of his whole nature can be attained, and which, therefore, embraces all that can tend to the fulfilment of this end of his existence.

With such a view of the objects of Political Science no specious theories of a social contract, or of natural equality, or of government, as a mere experimental machine, will ever obscure to the statesman's mind those principles of Nature and Equity, in which human society and national government are really founded. Starting from the constitution of man's nature, he evolves fundamental principles as the basis of his political theories and policy, which render him the consistent supporter of just government, equitable representation, true political equality, rational liberty, and in short, of all the constitutional rights of the free citizen. Of these, he is the supporter, not because they are party dogmas, but by a moral necessity, because they result from the immutable truths whence Government and Political freedom themselves originate. The investigation of these truths must occupy us for a time, because they reveal one of the most important parts of the Statesman's character,—the intellectual conceptions upon which his political theories and course are moulded, and by which he must be judged as a political philosopher.

He clearly perceives that all government must be referred for its origin to the necessary development of human nature, as constituted by Deity himself. The family relation was established by God, when he

* Burke.

† In the Southern Review, Nos. XXVIII, July, 1848, and XXX, July, 1849. The language is incorporated in this discourse, not only because it is as suitable and clear, as any other which the author could perhaps produce at this moment, in stating the fundamental political truths upon which a Republican Statesman's principles are based, but also because the principles expressed in the Articles here made use of, are believed to be generally accordant with those which were held by the lamented subject of this essay.

made male and female to multiply, to assist, to comfort, and to depend upon each other. But as the increase of man from this primary law of his social condition would naturally involve multiplication of families, the family circles necessarily implied a still more extended and complicated circle of relationship, for their mutual existence, support and protection. And as, moreover, the nature of man involved his whole developments as a moral, social and political being, for the full perfection of all his faculties, the State must have been included in the original idea of Man. The true nature of a being can only be fully developed in the ultimate perfection of which that being is capable. Hence the highest form of that being is the fulfilment of its true idea; and the idea must thus logically precede and involve every subordinate condition and successive development of the being. The parts of the building, and every successive advance under the builder's hand, pre-suppose and point to the complete plan, and the true nature of the structure only appears when its full idea is realized. Thus the true nature of man will only be revealed, when he is perfectly developed according to the full idea of his original design.

That man was not intended only for, and, consequently, is not perfectly developed as to all his faculties and capabilities, only in, the family relation and condition, is self-evident. This condition then, must be included in the pre-conceived or logically antecedent condition of a still wider sphere, upon which the family itself must depend for its own perfect and protected existence—just as the mere individual existence must depend upon and imply the antecedent existence of family. That sphere, including the family, is, of course, the State. Hence, by the law of man's nature, the actual development of Family and State must as inevitably take place, as that man exists;—and thus, out of the very nature of man, Government must necessarily arise. Man could never choose whether he would be governed or not; it is inseparable from any condition of his existence. He could not as an individual exist without the family, and the existence of the family necessarily involves that of government. The same is evidently true of his condition when that enlarges beyond the sphere of the family. The principle of *government* must develop itself as certainly as the principle of gravitation. It is as essential and inseparable a condition of man's existence, as *good* government is unquestionably an essential condition of his *well*-being.

The *form* under which the principle of government will develop itself, will be determined by the state of man's progress towards the realization of his true nature as a perfect moral, social, and political

being. Hence, when man reaches an advanced degree of development, and the general intellect of a people is highly unfolded and cultivated, (and this must be understood to include moral, social, and *political* cultivation,) then the general intellect will naturally be the governing power—and as there must, from the very nature of things, be always governed and governing, these two classes will then become identical. But where the most are fit for self-government, as all cannot actually exercise the functions of governing, there must be free selection; and hence arises *representation* as inseparable from self-government. As it is evident that in a free State, government (and by necessary implication legislation) must be developed through representation, the obvious principle by which this must be regulated, is that the just ratio between every class and interest of the citizens be preserved, so that the free action of each in its proper sphere is secured—none encroaching or being encroached upon, but each contributing to the healthy action of the whole, and the whole to the well-being of every class.

The citizen, then, in a free State, is entitled to representation. But, in order justly to maintain the rights of the free citizen, the statesman must inquire upon what the right of citizenship itself depends? Every individual *protected* by the State may therefore be *taxed* by the State. The right of property certainly involves the right of a voice with regard to the amount of taxation, and to measures affecting the rights and stability of property itself. But it is the right of self-government which involves the right of representation. And while, in a Commonwealth or Free State every one may be a citizen *in posse*, he only is entitled to be truly a citizen *in esse*, who has attained the right or fitness of self-government. The accident of being born in a Commonwealth, can not itself constitute a right to actual citizenship. The true citizen is he, who, partaking of the political equality of the State, is both governing and governed, and thus is entitled to all the privileges of the freeman. And hence it is evident that the right of citizenship must emanate from the constitution of the State. If the constitution confer this right upon those unfit for it, it can only do so at imminent peril. He alone who has attained that degree of intellectual, moral, social and political advancement, which renders him fit for self-government as a freeman, possesses the *natural* right of citizenship in a true Commonwealth, although the constitution may confer the *political* right upon any class. When an *individual* becomes conscious of the true principles of self-control, or of moral, legal and political duty, he is no longer in pupilage, but possesses the *natural right* of self-government. And so, when a *Nation* becomes conscious of the true principles of government, and of

social and national duty, it also possesses the *natural right* of self-government. Thus it is evident that self-government both implies, and springs from, a high degree of civilization and political advancement and knowledge. The *power* of self-government may be conferred upon a people who are not *fit*, and who do not, therefore, possess the *right* for it. A mere self-governing people, therefore, are not necessarily a free people, for they may govern themselves, or submit to be governed, very despotically. But a people must be free, in order truly to govern themselves. The most perfect freedom is that state in which man can best fulfil the ends of his being; and those ends, from the very nature of man, include moral and religious elements; so that the most perfect government is that which comprehends, developes and fosters that condition. It is only, then, among men in a condition of freedom that a Government most adapted to such a state can develope itself; for as the *form* of government must spring out of the political wants of man, true, free government (which, *ex vi termini*, is self-government) can only spring from man in such a degree of advancement as to be able to comprehend the true nature of freedom. If, then, a particular class who have not reached the intellectual, moral and political development which implies the fitness or right of self-government, be nevertheless admitted to full and equal citizenship in the Commonwealth, it is evident that true political equality will be violated, and the perfect idea of a just, self-governing Commonwealth will be infringed.

But in the natural progress of man's development, it is evident that something more than the care of body and goods enters into the realization of his true nature, and therefore becomes comprehended in the objects of the State, which, springing from the development of that nature, is bound to do all which tends to protect, foster and perfect it. This the State practically effects through Government. Government necessarily implies law; and *good* government implies order, just law, and consequent security and protection of every individual right. In a free State, every citizen is in relation to the right of self-government, governor, and in relation to good order and just law, governed. All may respectively rule and be ruled; hence the rulers for the time being are responsible to the ruled, as *all* are—not to the will of the majority, but—to Order, to Law, and to the Constitution; and thus such a polity presents the truest idea of a *common*-wealth, or a State, in which all citizens participate equally in Constitutional rights, and in which the highest well-being of each and of the whole is interdependent, and forms the common object of the care of all. And this evidently constitutes political equality.

As man's nature can never realize its truest idea without the just development of its moral and religious, as well as its social and political, elements, these should form an essential object of the care and protection of government. The Government is not the State. Nor is the mere aggregate of the individuals of a nation the State. But the State is the organic or constitutional embodiment of the nation under the idea of a particular polity. Or, in other words, the State is the nation existing as a political being, developing and exercising determinate functions according to the law of its nature or constitution. To that nature Government owes its form. It grows out of, or is the necessary creation of, the State as its organ of reason and will. And hence as the reason and will of the State must always exercise and apply themselves for the regulation of its affairs, for the protection and furtherance of justice and right, and for securing the performance of its intentions, so its organ Government must ever be concerned with legislative, judicial and executive functions. This view of the Government and the State renders it intelligible how there may be a characteristic general State policy, which yet some particular Government for the time being of the same State, may quite depart from and contradict; and it also leads to the just consequence that as Government is thus the organ of the State's action, and the State includes the highest interests of the citizen, Government must be concerned with moral questions, and cannot limit its duties to the mere conservation of body and goods. The State thus becomes clothed with a venerable sanctity, as including all the ends of the family existence, and proposing still higher ones of its own,—having in view the most perfect earthly condition of man, and the most favorable circumstances under which his whole nature can manifest and mature and employ its powers.

If such general principles are calculated to give the Statesman lofty ideas of public good, of the objects of government, and of the service of humanity; no less must his views of rational liberty render him the inflexible defender of right against the encroachments of tyranny and of license. For liberty, to him, cannot be merely the greatest individual freedom from restraint compatible with the safety and peace of the State; but it is that condition in which man can most perfectly fulfil the ends of his creation. Absolute individual unrestraint is an impossibility. Were the necessary and natural limitations of Family and State removed from the individual, and were he placed at once in maturity in the world, the very elements and the physical obstacles of his planet,—nay, his own finitude of nature, would effectually control him. And if his Reason were unperverted, she would herself impose the barrier of her

laws to his unbounded license. But born into a condition where he is by nature included in Family and State, these can no more be said to form checks to his liberty, than his want of wings does to his physical, or his want of an archangel's intellect does to his mental freedom. They only show that his liberty has a nature,—that it possesses inherent laws of its own, as does every subject of Creative Power; and hence, it is by the preservation of that nature and its laws, that its true character is preserved; and a violation of them would destroy real liberty, and make it an abortion or a monster. Subjected to the will of a mere despot, the nature of man's liberty would be violated in the repression of its true end—the just development of all the faculties of his being. But it would be equally violated if he were left to the absolute license of his passions, or his mere animal volition undirected by reason; for under their dominion, he would not be free to develop his whole nature in the just ratio of its several faculties.

True liberty, then, must be, like free Constitutions, the growth of time and the offspring of maturity. And as a state of liberty is necessary for the perfection of the political being, so that state itself can only spring from the development of that being, morally, intellectually and politically, in his progress towards fulfilling the end of his existence.

If we have risked even prolixity and reiteration in the statement of these political principles, it is because they are the sacred legacy of ages of experience, trial, and wisdom; they are the vital power of all free institutions; they are the precious gift of God to the inheritors of liberty; and it is only by their realization and preservation in practical forms, that success can be attained in the great experiment of Self-Government, which, under Providence, we are making for the hopes, and as the representatives of humanity. The statesman whose mental character is not imbued with these principles, can do us no immortal service, however brilliant his temporary course; while the public man who is actuated by them, is a worthy object of homage and glory to a free people, even if we could not point to any political distinctions which he had enjoyed, but could only display these principles, and declare that such were the truths which guided him, and which he held dearer than office and human honors.

In accordance with such principles, the great statesman of an enlightened republic, who in his different relations to the State is both ruler and subject, the administrator and the object of the laws, bears pre-eminently the sacred palladium of law and justice in his own bosom, as the protection of the rights of others, and as the security of his own fidelity to legal authority. Reverencing those virtues in the Divine

Being, who is at once their fountain and perfection, he is filled with their full dignity. And imbued with a sense of dependence upon God —recognizing Him as the Arbitrar of Nations, who establishes and destroys—possessing a solemn consciousness of accountability to a Judge of unerring equity—he is immeasurably elevated above the corrupt influence of the seducing demagogue, the temptations of faction, the forgetfulness of duty, and the lure of false ambition. Just and virtuous in every relation of life, he fulfils the description which was given of one of the noblest citizens,* "that he lived for his family as if he had no friends; for his friends as if he had no country; and for his country as if he possessed no friends." No plausible expediency ever deludes him from inflexible principle. No party support or clamor ever blinds him to sacred justice. No worldly ambition ever deflects him from righteous duty. Knowing that the glory and safety of the republic lie in peace and in the virtue of her citizens, he seeks to promote every measure which can foster the arts of the one, and enlighten, elevate and purify the other. And affording in his own person the highest example of his principles—bearing in his own bosom the conscious dignity of his membership in a free commonwealth—exerting his final energies and raising his last voice in behalf of the country which he has served so well—he will be able, even amidst lowering storms, calmly to commit his character to posterity, and his soul to that Providence in whom he maintained unshaken confidence to the last. His country will verify the wisdom of his policy; she will crown his name with imperishable glory; she will sooth the grief of his widow and children with her tears of unfeigned sympathy; and she will lead her young citizens to adorn his grave, and to kindle at the dear and hallowed spot, as at an altar of liberty, the spirit of all that can ennoble the freeman and the citizen.

Shall we ever behold the living embodiment of such a statesman? The universal voice of the commonwealth—the homage which we are now paying to an illustrious name—the revered dust which lies before us—all proclaim that the character is real; that the man has passed forever from among us!

This is not the occasion upon which to review the circumstances of his life, or the great measures and principles of his public policy. They belong to history, and require an abler pen and more copious materials than we can command. We are called upon to lay to heart the lessons

* Dr. Thomas Arnold, late Head Master of Rugby School, in England. The moral sympathy between his character and that of Mr. CALHOUN, and the vigor and suggestive nature of his writings, entitle his "Life and Correspondence," as well as his Works generally, to the attention of the statesman, the thinking man, and especially the young.

which his well-known and conspicuous character suggests. And amidst the universal expression of sympathy and admiration which his death has elicited from every part of the country, language has been so exhausted in delineating his qualities, that we can do no more than select some obvious traits to weave into an humble garland for the statesman's bier.

No eloquence can be more touching than that silent dust; no expression of grief can adequately give utterance to the greatness of our loss. But the legacy of his name is more precious than treasure; the possession of his grave, around which will ever cluster such great and heart-stirring associations, is itself a bulwark more impregnable than adamant. For they will ever appeal to and animate that spirit of the citizen which is the true safeguard of the country.

The illustrious statesman himself is not altogether lost to us; he belongs to those regal intellects whose dominion never ceases—

> Those dead, but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns.

His writings will rank him among great philosophers, as his admirable career has placed him among the greatest statesmen. We will still learn wisdom from the records of his genius, and anticipate our national experience and wants in the pages of his prophetic observation. But although his voice can be heard no more, and the great lessons of his intellect will henceforth only instruct us in the printed page, yet the spirit which animated him lives in thousands of bosoms and nerves thousands of hearts—the spirit—not of ephemeral enthusiasm, but—of earnest determination, of heroic decision, which no crisis can appal, and which no encroachment can subdue—the spirit which fully conscious of the blessing of peace, spares no honorable effort to maintain it; but which deeply-imbued with the convictions of right and justice, will manifest the constancy of the martyr in defending them—the spirit which scarce ever appears in the stormy arena of the politician and the public press; but which deeply seated in the silent and sterling mass of the people, who constitute the true sinews of a nation, will unite them as one man, in a contest for true freedom, equality, and justice, against the tyranny of aggression. Animated by such a spirit, a free people can not be subdued—a great nation, with its exhaustless resources, can not be crushed. Every mountain pass might prove a Thermopylæ, but every plain would be a Marathon. The sacrifice of Leonidas might be often imitated; the victory of Miltiades would be constantly rivalled. And if even now the solemn call of Providence be disregarded, which bids our public leaders bury in this sacred grave all

party animosity and personal ambition, and unite in impenetrable phalanx for truth and justice; yet THE PEOPLE, so long as they hold in memory the grave of him who died battling for the great principles of Equity and National Safety—a memory as thrilling as the oath of Demosthenes by the souls of those who fell at Marathon—will be animated by the indomitable spirit of the illustrious patriot—will exhibit that union which he commended almost with his dying breath—and will, in revering and carrying out his counsels by firm and consistent action, erect in their own conduct the noblest monument to his virtues and his wisdom.

The greatness of that wisdom may be the prerogative of genius alone; the excellency of those virtues can be the honorable aspiration of all. If we have no language like the matchless eloquence of Greece, in whose magnificence and undying glory to embalm his name, we have the hearts of freemen to appreciate his moral qualities, and the resolution of high-minded men to imitate them.

The truly majestic dignity of his character, which like the pure sunlight, would have rebuked and driven back to its own dark littleness, the selfishness of petty ambition or the desire of mere party distinction, was illustrated by his transcendent genius, without being derived from it. It was rooted in a soil nobler even than intellectual ability. It was the offspring of the profoundest *moral principle*. What is right—what is just, were the queries which guided him in the determination of duty; and principle based upon immutable Truth, so far as the most conscientious exercise of judgment could discover it, was infinitely dearer to him than party interests or personal applause. He would have scorned a distinction not won by honest service, and would have shrunk from a fame uncoupled with virtuous action.

Seldom has a Statesman been so fondly regarded by his own people as a guide and authority; never has one been more loftily elevated above the arts of the demagogue. To seek for popular favor or to flatter the popular taste, was as inconsistent with his principles, as it was alien from his dignity. It was the high moral sentiment—the cleaving to truth, and principle, and conscience, at all hazards, at any sacrifice, and however deserted—which imparted at times, to the habitual simplicity of his language, a grandeur of eloquence which no mere splendors of rhetoric could rival. In reference to one of those trying times, which no less wring the heart than test the fidelity of a public man, possessing a noble and sensitive nature, his language was—"I saw that to stand between [a great and powerful party] and their object, I must necessarily incur their deep and lasting displeasure. * * * I would

unite against me a combination of political and moneyed influence almost irresistible. Nor was this all. I could not but see, that however pure and disinterested my motives, and however consistent my course with all I had ever said or done, I should be exposed to the very charges and aspersions which I am now repelling. * * * But there was another consequence that I could not but foresee, far more painful to me than all others. I but too clearly saw that, in so sudden and complex a juncture, called on as I was to decide on my own course instantly, as it were, on the field of battle, without consultation or explaining my reasons, I would estrange for a time many of my political friends, who had passed through with me so many trials and difficulties, and for whom I feel a brother's love. But I saw before me the path of duty; and though rugged and hedged on all sides with these and many other difficulties, I did not hesitate a moment to take it. Yes, alone. * * * After I had made up my mind as to my course, in a conversation with a friend about the responsibility I would assume, he remarked that my own State might desert me. I replied that it was not impossible; but the result has proved that I under-estimated the intelligence and patriotism of my virtuous and noble State. I ask her pardon for the distrust implied in my answer; but I ask with assurance it will be granted, on the grounds I shall put it—that, in being prepared to sacrifice her confidence, dear to me as light and life, rather than disobey, on this great question, the dictates of my judgment and conscience, I proved myself not unworthy of being her representative."*

Upon another occasion, of no trifling interest to the honor of the American name, he said—"There is not a State, even the most indebted, with the smallest resources, that has not ample resources to meet its engagements. For one, I pledge myself, South Carolina is also in debt. She has spent her thousands in wasteful extravagance on one of the most visionary schemes that ever entered into the head of a thinking man. I dare say this even of her; I, who on this floor stood up to defend her almost alone against those who threatened her with fire and sword, but who are now so squeamish about State rights, as to be shocked to hear it asserted that a State was capable of extravagant and wasteful expenditures. Yes, I pledge myself that she will pay punctually every dollar she owes, should it take the last cent, without inquiring whether it was spent wisely or foolishly. Should I in this be possibly mistaken—should she tarnish her unsullied honor, and bring discredit on our common country by refusing to redeem her plighted faith, (which

* Speech in the United States Senate, March 10, 1838.

I hold impossible,) deep as is my devotion to her, and mother as she is to me, I would disown her."* Happy the State which could appreciate and proudly respond to the sentiments of such a son; fortunate the Statesman who had such a people to appeal to and counsel.

Confidence he won, not less by the conviction which he inspired of his thorough honesty, than by the evidence which he afforded of possessing the ability to grapple with any emergency. In his mental constitution he appeared to possess many points of striking resemblance to the great Stagyrite, whose vast and comprehensive genius has influenced the intellectual development of the civilized world. In truthfulness and earnestness, in the absorbing and unselfish interest which he manifested in public affairs, in the nobility of his views respecting the objects of political science and the character of the citizen, he resembled the lamented Arnold.† But in the whole harmony and greatness of his character, he is a model with whom it will be the highest honor and praise for any future Statesman to be compared.

Accustomed to the severe and abstract thought of the philosopher, no Statesman was more thoroughly practical in his measures. Analyzing with almost the rapidity of intuition, his logic was as clear as his language was accurate and concise. Without neglecting a link in his argument, he always left the impression that he had much more to say, and from his exhaustless storehouse, had only selected so much as he deemed best calculated to produce direct conviction. To know a duty was, with him, to perform it; and hence he always aimed to convince the reason of the truth of his principles, rather than to awaken the sympathy of the feelings. His eloquence was of that grand style, which springs from the man's being thoroughly possessed by the conviction of the correctness and vital importance of his positions, combined with the elevating consciousness of being able to maintain them by the fairest arguments. Whatever the subject of the discussions in which he engaged, it was always evident throughout his close but lucid reasoning, that he kept steadily in view great ultimate principles, and reasoned from truths which he regarded as valid for all time. And it is this which will render his recorded speeches, even upon topics of ephemeral policy, a manual of immortal instruction. Circumstances may vary; the immutable principles by which they are to be judged, possess an applicability co-extensive with time. He possessed in the most remarkable degree, the power of reducing a subject to its simplest aspect,

* Speech in the United States Senate, February 5, 1840.

† Dr. Thomas Arnold, already referred to.

by seizing and clearly presenting the ultimate principles and facts which it involved, and upon which its arguments rested. And hence the first perusal of some of his ablest speeches, often produced a feeling of surprise, that a series of plain propositions and unadorned reasons, so seemingly obvious that any sound mind might have perceived and uttered them, should have produced the conviction of the greatness of his efforts. But it becomes manifest, upon reflection, that it was this very simplicity and clearness in the presentation of the closest reasoning, so that its successive steps presented themselves almost like intuitive truth, which constituted the grandeur of his speeches, and compelled the highest tribute to the power of his genius. Truth was too steadily his object, to allow him to turn aside for culling the beauties of language, or indulging in the force of sarcasm; but he amply proved, on memorable occasions, that no man, when compelled to personal debate, could rise to loftier expression, or was more formidable in delineating an opponent. But the subject was never lost sight of in the opponent; and the personal conflict never withdrew him from the dignified demeanor of the Senator. Full of earnestness, energy, and unquenchable zeal, he was never mastered by passion, betrayed by hastiness, or deserted by the calmest judgment. The prophetic sagacity by which he was so often able to grasp all the complicated relations, and consequently the distant results of a measure or event, was only surpassed by the prophetic confidence with which he so often, and with such calm and lofty dignity, appealed to the future for the verification of his anticipations or the justification of his opinions and course.

The respect which he commanded from all, and the attachment with which he inspired those who knew him best, are the most admirable testimony to the nobility of his character. That consciousness of intellectual strength which is inseparable from genius, was perhaps not so much realized by him, as was that moral power, the offspring of conscious integrity, which sustained him in gloom and trial, which shed a halo of noble dignity around his character, and which, while it attracted to him the admiration and affection of the virtuous, rendered him awful to the unprincipled and corrupt. And the enthusiasm and determination with which his very name could fill the people of his native State, will in no emergency be weakened, now that that name is invested with all the hallowed associations which cling to the memory of the departed objects of veneration and love.

Politics was to him no subtle game for securing the triumph of party principles or the rewards of power and personal distinction; but filled with a deep sense of the responsibility of his duty to the country and

to humanity, he counselled fearlessly what he believed to be just and right, while the entire truthfulness of his character prevented him from concealing any conscientious conviction. He was eminently distinguished for an immovable reliance upon the might of Justice and the ultimate triumph of Truth, which enabled him by its sustaining power, when once he was satisfied that he had grasped principles based upon those eternal foundations, to pursue his object with unshaken fortitude and decision, amidst every opposition, in the face of desertion and obloquy, under trials which might have crushed even a noble spirit, and, if need be, to face undauntedly a world in arms. Always bold and prompt, he was never rash or precipitate; and his energy and resources appeared to rise with the greatness of the emergency which taxed them. The history of his administration of the War Department, proves that he possessed powers of combination and comprehensiveness of views, which would have enabled him to direct the most complicated interests of the greatest empire. The history of his course in the Senate as Vice-President of the United States, and on many occasions which will suggest themselves to those who know his whole career, prove that his generous patriotism was of that pure and exalted character which enabled him to achieve the most matchless conquest—the conquest of self. Prepared to assume any responsibility which the necessities or voice of the nation might call him to meet, he was too thoroughly in earnest in pursuing the great duties of his life, to make any office a special aim. These duties he performed, as they met him, in reference to the great principles and ultimate results which they involved; and, beyond that, he left it to Providence to determine the position in which he should discharge them. It is conceded on all hands that he would have eminently adorned the Presidency; but no human office can add lustre to the greatness and glory of the man, who seems to have been filled with the thought that his greatest office was to make his life an embodiment of Truth, Justice, Virtue and National Service, and who was enabled to realize the conception. And if at a crisis when, as might appear to short-sighted mortals, his life would never have been more important, he could possibly know that the solemn appeal of his death had extinguished jealousy, and, in the general community of sympathy and grief, had led to a community of feeling in that fixed and united determination of the whole people which must constitute our safety; if he could know that the example of his character had awakened in our young men who are pressing forward in a political career, a lofty conviction that the service of the country and of humanity is the solemn and responsible object of public life, which only

becomes degraded by being commingled with party strife and selfish ambition; if he could know that such a conviction would nerve them to oppose that fatal palsy of a people's energetic and united action, which the manœuvering of demagogueism and party spirit strikes to the social heart—and that his own example would inspire them to regard integrity, purity, and unflinching adherence to righteous principle, as the only basis of true glory; if he could now know that such fruits would spring from his grave, he would feel that his course as a citizen and a statesman had received its most resplendent crown, and that in death he was even greater than in life.

Citizens of South Carolina! for your cause he sacrificed personal ambition and political elevation, and exhibited amidst appalling difficulties, an unsurpassed intrepidity on behalf of your rights, your just equality, your property, and the honor of your "noble and virtuous State." You have worthily loved him—you have answered his unshaken fidelity with unwavering confidence for forty years—and you are not ashamed to weep over the ashes of the dead. Such tears are no effusion of weakness—they are the honorable tribute of generous and manly hearts, to the memory of private worth and friendship—to the unfeigned conviction of public calamity. But the very occasion of your grief imposes upon you a solemn duty. Not only is the dust of the illustrious dead confided to your keeping, but his character and reputation are entrusted to your guardianship, and to the justice with which you will transmit them to posterity. You were the supporters of him who faithfully represented you; you have become the representative of the principles which he illustrated and defended. To these you can become false, only by proving recreant to yourselves. In the crisis, whose issue we are now awaiting, your course will be jealously watched. You are engaged upon that side of a cause against which is arrayed the terrible power of arms, more difficult to face than flaming batteries. Against you is directed the tremendous moral artillery of spurious philanthropy and pretended zeal for the cause of justice and humanity. Beneath this specious mask, corrupt Ambition, phrenzied Fanaticism, insatiable Rapacity, and unprincipled Demagogueism, fiercely strive to excite against you the misguided sympathies and public opinion of the civilized world; and impiously dare invoke the sacred name of Religion, to pollute her venerable and peaceful character, by perverting her sanctions to the mad and unholy crusade. If you are wanting now in the consistency of moral firmness; if, by faltering, you seem to imply a doubt of the justice of your cause; if by rashness or passion you weaken the moral power which calm decision and unanimity must give,

you will invite more insolent aggression, and your weakness and failure in the present crisis, will entail upon our children—perhaps upon yourselves—the increased difficulties of a position in which all party distinctions must be swallowed up, in a humiliating and desperate contest for liberty—for political existence itself. Wait not, then, for that compulsory union in an issue for your last hope of justice and equality; but here, around the coffin of that heroic dust, with the deep and solemn deliberation which this scene is calculated to inspire, vow in your inmost souls to bury all party rivalry and division, and to unite as fellow-citizens and brothers in your reasonable and unflinching maintenance of a cause which involves nothing less than your self-respect and your equitable participation in the rights of a Free Confederacy. And while thus uniting for a cause of honor and justice, in the presence of the dead whose life was devoted to its defence, withhold not the highest tribute you can pay to his wisdom and counsels, by reliance upon the Divine Providence, whose sustaining hand he reverently recognized.

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES! in your service he expended his energies, and breathed out his life of unceasing activity and labor for the prosperity, honor, and peace of the Confederacy. If you revere his character and services, as an heir-loom of glory to our common country, listen to the voice of Reason and Justice, and maintain in its integrity the Constitution which he so justly expounded, and which, if weakened in its guaranties, it requires no prophet's voice to foretell the disasters which will ensue.

STATESMEN AND POLITICIANS! human wisdom is vain, if not directed according to revelation, and sustained by reliance upon God Mere temporizing policy can not reach the difficulties by which we are encompassed. Exhibit, then, that *moral courage* in support of constitutional rights, of which your distinguished compeer afforded an unsurpassed example; and remember, that the approval or hostility of constituents, can never establish or shake that peace of an approving conscience, which the public man can only hope to obtain by keeping his eye steadily fixed upon truth and justice, upon the tribunal of posterity, and above all upon the final approval of God. If deplorable results to the Confederacy MUST be met, as the issue of existing difficulties, awful will be YOUR responsibility if selfish objects or popular clamor should move you from unfaltering maintenance of equity, and unyielding opposition to aggression.

But our people will look to higher resources than human leaders. Justice will be their claim—Union will be their power—and the God of Truth and Equity will be their hope, their help, their guide, and

their triumphant defence. But if the lessons which the wisdom and character of the deceased statesman present be unheeded and lost, the possession of his monument which should constantly impress them, will prove a reproach to the people among whom it is reared.

Could his honored voice now reach us from beyond the grave, he would raise its tones, invested with all the grandeur of immortality, to remind us that man is destined to be the citizen of an eternal polity—to commend to us those Holy Scriptures whose study he commended to his children—and to assure us that the only safety of States, and the only permanent support of individuals, are to be found in an adherence to the principles of Religion and obedience to the precepts of Revelation. This solemn pageantry of woe will pass—this noble grief of a high-minded people will become mellowed into a reverence for the dead, which will move us to imitate his deathless virtues; but the Eternal Record is true, and the inevitable Judgment is sure; and whether in the path of public service, or in the unobtrusive walks of private life, it is only a faithful embracing of the redemption of CHRIST, which will entitle the greatest or the humblest to hope that, in the eye of the Merciful God, his will be the epitaph, which, in gratitude for his services and virtues, we inscribe in a national sense upon the tomb of CALHOUN—"*The memory of the just is blessed.*"

# HENRY'S EULOGY.

Eulogy on the late Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, delivered at Columbia, South Carolina, on Thursday, May 16, 1850, by ROBERT HENRY, D. D., Professor of Greek Literature in the South Carolina College. Published at the request of the Committee of Citizens.

FELLOW CITIZENS: Envy and forgetfulness have, too often, caused the greatest merit to be veiled in obscurity. On the other hand, the language of panegyric is not unfrequently prostituted with a view to confer factitious reputation on the weak, the vicious, or unworthy. It is fortunate, therefore, for the orator on the present occasion, that the subject of his Eulogy is, in all respects and in the highest degree, worthy of the applause and commendation, of the love and imitation of survivors. If commanding intellect, lofty and ennobling enthusiasm, devoted patriotism, sustained by unconquerable resolution and enduring self-denial, eventuating in the happiest results for the safety of the Republic, and more especially in the preservation of the equality and independence of our Southern communities, could entitle any man to the gratitude and veneration of his fellow-citizens, the name and character of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN can never be obliterated from the rolls of fame. Indeed, the public voice, with one consent, has already so far outstripped the ordinary language of commendation, that whilst the speaker feels himself animated by the genuine elevation of his theme, he may yet, with propriety, entertain some apprehension that the execution of his task will scarcely reach the level of public expectation. Throwing myself, therefore, on your indulgence, I shall endeavor to accomplish the duty assigned me, if not completely, at least with a deep sense of its importance, and with a sincere and cordial admiration of our illustrious Patriot, of whose character I have been an attentive observer, from the time when his fame was culminating towards its zenith, and attracting the admiring gaze of all beholders.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in our own State, and in the District of Abbeville, on the 18th of March, 1782. His father, Patrick Calhoun, a native of Donegal, in Ireland, accompanied his family in their emigration first to Pennsylvania, and subsequently to western Virginia, and finally to South Carolina. His mother, from whom he derived the name

of Caldwell, was a Virginian. The accident of birth, is a term applicable enough to the artificial distinctions, which political arrangements may, with equal facility, establish and discard. To have been preceded, however, in the race of life by progenitors, distinguished for high and enduring qualities of the head and heart, is not a fortuitous occurrence, but a benignant dispensation of Providence, not only to the individuals so distinguished, but also to the communities, who are destined, ultimately, to reap the advantages of their exalted worth. In the instance before us, the inflexible resolution; the unwavering integrity of the father; the gentle feelings and the unobtrusive piety of the mother, might at any time have been detected as marked lineaments in the character of their son. Independent of his relation to his illustrious descendant, the elder Calhoun, will never be forgotton in Upper Carolina, as the dauntless and successful champion of its equal rights and elective franchises.

The early education of the younger CALHOUN was any thing but regular, even unfortunate, according to common apprehension. It is, however, the august privilege of the highest order of intellect, either to find the road to distinction ready, or to make it. His instructor, Dr. Waddell, was deservedly eminent, and is entitled to the praise of having conducted the early training of some of the most remarkable characters whom South Carolina has produced. What he professed to do, he did well and effectually, and his scholar, in this instance, left him, at least well grounded in all the elementary branches of learning. Yet solitude and silence, affording opportunity for calm reflection and for thoughts often revised and corrected, were the great preceptors of the embryo patriot and statesman. In the long absence of his regular instructor, his mind, struggling for development, met with the immortal work of Locke on the Human Understanding and found an atmosphere of thought in which his mind could freely breathe and expand its energies. It was then, that his intellect was moulded into that type, which has sometimes been disparaged as metaphysical, but which, by whatever name designated or desecrated, must forever remain the true test, by which the highest order of capacity is distinguished from what is superficial and common. It was this stamp of thought, which fitted those twin lights of the ancient world, Plato and Aristotle, to become through all descending ages the Lawgivers of the Lawgivers of mankind. Such was Bacon; such Hobbes; such Locke; such Montesquieu and Adam Smith, whose works must forever constitute the great armory, from which lesser minds constantly draw the brightest and keenest weapons, with which to assail error and sustain truth.

So averse was his mind to every thing like a tame and self-satisfied mediocrity, that on some prospect of difficulty occurring in the prosecution of his education for one of the learned professions, he had calmly made up his mind to live contented upon his scanty patrimony, as a planter, in preference to embracing pursuits, in which imperfect preparation must forever preclude the hope of attaining to eminence. On the remonstrances, however, of his elder brother, who early set an high estimate upon his talents, he consented to reconsider the matter; yet with a coolness and intelligence, which even then strongly characterized him, he requested to know, whether the resources of his estate could be so arranged, as to secure him seven years of uninterrupted leisure for preparatory study. An answer in the affirmative being received and his mother's consent obtained, he at once entered upon his plan. In four years from this time, he became a graduate of high distinction at Yale. There the clearest auguries of his future renown were uttered by the President, Dr. Dwight, and reëchoed, with enthusiasm, by all the young scholar's class fellows. Over the latter indeed, he never ceased, almost unconsciously, to preserve the influence which he then obtained. Many of his companions, who afterwards differed widely from him in public affairs, yet felt themselves honored by their early association with one possessed of such unimpeached integrity, joined to commanding intellect, and cultivated his friendship. The topic, which he selected for the subject of his Oration at Commencement, was the "qualifications necessary to constitute a perfect statesman."

> These be his arts, who in the forum seeks
> To curb the wills of men and duly aims
> The people with apt ligaments to bind;
> Here the state Archimedes fix his foot,
> When with machines of Polity, Kingdoms
> He labors to impel, fierce nations moves,
> And on its yawning bases, shakes the world:
> Featly he conquers all, who rules the mind!*

Nothing could present a more rational subject of curiosity, than the re-

* Translated from a poem by Radwell Bathurst in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, entitled, in Libellum V. Cl. Tho. Hobbii *De Natura Hominis.* 1650.

> "Has norit artes, quisquis in foro velit
> Animorum habenas flectere, et populos cupit
> Aptis ligatos nexibus jungi sibi.
> Hic Archimedes publicus figat pedem,
> Siquando regna machinis politicis
> Urgere satagit, et feras gentes ciet,
> Imisque motum sedibus mundum quatit:
> Facile domabit cuncta, qui Menti imperat!"

covery of this composition, if it be yet in existence. It could hardly fail to mark, distinctly, "the boy as father of the man." There must have been there the elements of that high estimate of independence and equality, of justice, truth and unaffected magnanimity, which were never absent from his character. From early life, he was a genuine disciple of the Academic School: The great men of our country, who had preceded him—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, all shared his veneration, but in the sanctuary of his heart, he worshipped nothing but truth.

From College, he repaired to the Law School at Litchfield. Here, too, he soon became celebrated, especially for his skill in extempore speaking, which he cultivated with great assiduity. Afterwards, in Charleston, he enjoyed the instructions and official training of the late accomplished Chancellor DeSaussure. With a view also to greater familiarity with the routine of business, he passed some time in the office of Mr. Bowie, of Abbeville. With these arrangements, the period of study, which he had so sagaciously devised and so pertinaciously pursued, was concluded. He was soon after called to the Bar, and immediately ranked on a level with its most distinguished members. He probably now anticipated no other destiny, for a series of years, than increasing labors and augmenting emoluments, insuring the acquisition of wealth and the recognized honors of his profession. His continuance at the Bar, was however, eventually, of short duration, for the finger of Providence seems to have marked him for a higher sphere.

About this time the whole nation began to be agitated by the most angry feeling towards Great Britain, in consequence of the insults offered to our flag, and the spoliations practised on our commerce. At a public meeting at Abbeville, Mr. CALHOUN was requested to draw up a Preamble and Resolutions, and to support them by a proper address. Such was his commanding success, that he was immediately nominated as a candidate for the Legislature, and subsequently elected a Member, at the head of the ticket. Throughout life, Mr. CALHOUN studied deeply, estimated highly, and applauded with due discrimination, the institutions of England. His course, therefore, in the outset of his political career, was dictated neither by passion nor prejudice. His animated call to resistance arose out of the enthusiasm, which a careful study of her history had inspired. In his speech made in reply to Mr. Randolph, in 1811, he has happily expressed the attitude and balance of his mind. He says, "But the gentleman, in his eager admiration of England, has not been sufficiently guarded in his argument. Has he reflected on the cause of that admiration? Has he examined the reasons for our high regard for her Chatham? It is his ardent

patriotism—his heroic courage, which could not brook the least insult or injury offered to his country, but thought that her interest and her honor ought to be vindicated, be the hazard and expense what they might. I hope when we are called upon to admire, we shall also be asked to imitate. I hope the gentleman does not wish a monopoly of those great virtues to England."

Mr. CALHOUN served but two sessions in the State Legislature. Such, however, were the impressions left upon it by his clear and energetic intellect and manly enthusiasm, striking for the right, as in the long run, the truly expedient, that the spell of his influence over that body was never lost or weakened to the last hour of his life. He at once gave the whole weight of his talents and authority to the Republican party, by strenuously advocating the election of Mr. Madison, as most likely to prevent distractions, and to concentrate the energies of the people for the mighty struggle, in which it was evident they must soon be engaged, with the haughtiest and most redoubtable nation of modern times.

It may seem astonishing that one so young, without the adscititious aids of rank or fortune, should so suddenly emerge to eminence. Yet if he early imped his wings for the eagle's flight, he only followed the genuine impulses of his noble nature. Conscious of the internal force which sustained him, he eyed the noble quarry, his country's weal, and launched towards his object with a sustained and undiverted flight, regardless of distinction, but eager to compass his lofty end. Our institutions awaken generous minds to the calls of ambition, by the facility with which the opportunity for distinction is conceded to all. Yet our illustrious statesman must not be mingled with the herd of vulgar aspirants. He valued station as the means of multiplied usefulness, and of securing the success of his plans for improvement or reform. The proof is to be found in the fact, that when patronage was in his power, it was invariably assigned to merit, and apportioned to the degree of service among the competitors. Indeed, the rapidity of his ideas, and the clearness of their combination, left him no chance for dissimulation and intrigue. No matter what the subject might be, his thoughts flowed in upon him with the speed of lightning; they were instantly marshalled under clear and irrefragable premises; and pushed forward to their legitimate conclusions. The consequence was that he never had to abandon his principles, though as a matter of business, he might be obliged, practically, to accept the best compromise that he could obtain. His great effort through life, was to be himself; to be, what even envy now allows him to have been, fearless and consistent in what he knew

to be right. From his first entrance into public life, and throughout his brilliant career he possessed that consolation, which the great Cardinal of England was only privileged to feel, when ambition had taken its flight and left him "leisure to be good." At any time Mr. CALHOUN might have said, with all the exactness of truth—

> "I know myself now; and I feel within me
> A peace above all earthly dignities,
> A still and quiet conscience."

His success in life never at any time depended upon the court which he paid to the people at large, to any man, however exalted, or to any body of men. During his term of service as a Representative in Congress, the Act establishing a fixed annual compensation to members, was passed and voted for by Mr. CALHOUN. The measure proved in the highest degree unpopular, and extinguished the political importance of almost every man who had voted for it. A powerful opposition was organized against him in his District, and he was advised by friends to adopt a course at once soothing and apologetic. Such a course he, notwithstanding, absolutely refused to adopt, feeling, no doubt, like the great Socrates,* in not dissimilar circumstances, that it was ignoble and inappropriate to his character to be the instrument of casting the slightest shadow of suspicion over conduct which he had adopted as, under all circumstances, correct and proper. On two several occasions, he addressed his constituents with all the calmness and self-possession of conscious innocence; defended his course as absolutely right, and eventually had the satisfaction to find that nothing so certainly wins the esteem and affection of the people, as fortitude in the performance of duty, and an ingenious avowal of motive. The true basis of the most effective eloquence will ever be found in the deep-seated, the unassailable confidence, which is reposed in the speaker. This is the solid bullion, from which oratory derives its value; art may mould it into new and graceful forms, but can never supply its place, where it is wanting.

The observation has been so often repeated as to have become hackneyed, that opportunities make men. It would, perhaps, be more

* "Imitatus est homo Romanus (Rutilius) et consularis veterem illum Socratem,† qui, quum omnium sapientissimus esset, sanctissimeque vixisset, ita in judicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut *non supplex aut reus*, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse judicum."—De Orat. lib. 1, c. 54.

† οὐδὲν ἄδικον διαγεγένημαι ποιῶν, ηνπερ νομιζω μελέτην ἔιναι καλλίςην Απολογίας.—Soc. Def. Xen. 4. Mem. iv. 8, 4.

correct to say, that only great men know the value of opportunities. Mr. CALHOUN entered the arena of the national councils when the stress of mighty events was calculated to thrust him into prominence. The timid started at responsibility; the selfish were intent upon schemes of individual aggrandizement; the grovelling listened only to suggestions of safety; the manly elements were still waiting in abeyance for the advent of that electric flash of genius, which should force them into brilliant and energetic combination. Embargo, non-importation, non-intercourse—a kind of belligerent alteratives, had been long sapping the life of the patient, without in any degree counteracting the virulence of his disease. The people suffered under all the inconveniences of war, loss of trade, and the interruption of their regular pursuits, without any speedy prospect of relief, until the operations of their own government had become as hateful as the hostile measures of their foreign enemy. War, on the other hand, with all its horrors, has its compensations. It exercises all the forces, both intellectual and physical, of a great people; the arts of life frequently make rapid strides to perfection under its exciting influences, and if it have its disasters and defeats, it is not unfrequently accompanied with and compensated by the triumphs of victory and the acquisition of renown. Various forms of restriction may have their timely use, as notes of preparation, but war alone convinces the unprincipled assailant that a nation is earnest in the defence of her rights. When it is considered that the greatest statesmen in the country were in favor of a temporizing policy, and that the greatest orators in Congress adopted the same course, under the severest sanctions of party discipline, it required no ordinary self-possession to steal a march upon their supineness, and occupy the most advanced position of responsibility. Not the smooth pebble from the brook, slung by the unerring hand of the youthful warrior, inspired more life into the hearts of desponding friends, and more certain trepidation into the spirit of their presumptuous foe, than did Mr. CALHOUN'S unblenched declaration, that his election was for war. At the magic recollections of Saratoga, Princeton, and Eutaw, the nation felt the pulses of a new life, propagated to its remotest extremities. "Let me not" said the orator, "be considered as romantic. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its courage, its fortitude, its skill and virtue for protection. These are the only safeguards in the hour of danger. Man was endued with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he was to conquer by endurance. He is not encrusted in a shell; he is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering for defence. No, sir, it is on the invincible mind, on a magnani-

mons nature he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind; it is these that render man the lord of the world. It is the destiny of his condition, that nations rise above nations, as they are endued in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities."

Mr. CALHOUN'S first effort derived no assistance from any station which he occupied. He was young and scarcely known, but this speech and the dauntless resolution which it inspired, at once assigned him his true position, by common consent. Though only second on the Military Committee, he was in reality the main-spring of its movements. When, in the following year, its Chairman retired from Congress, he succeeded him in that position. Nor was he in the least pertinacious upon matters of mere precedence, for, when at the subsequent Session, the speaker felt embarrassed in assigning prominent positions to the numerous distinguished men from our State, Mr. CALHOUN, as the youngest, at once requested to be postponed, and that a member from another State might be assigned as the head of the Committee on which he was placed. The gentleman so honored, declined acceptance with great magnanimity, notwithstanding Mr. CALHOUN'S repeated assurances that he would serve under him with great pleasure Mr. CALHOUN, on ballot, was unanimously elected. So when his friend and colleague, Mr. Cheves, was proposed as a candidate to fill the Speaker's Chair, Mr. CALHOUN, though earnestly solicited by many, absolutely refused to have his name mentioned upon the occasion. Yet this was the man who was afterwards calumniated as cherishing a vaulting ambition which could brook no superior.

During the whole of the war with Great Britain, Mr. CALHOUN was the great spirit who directed the storm. His courage never quailed even at the period when, by the downfall of Napoleon and the pacification of Europe, our great enemy, flushed with success, was left with the means and the opportunity of directing all his energies against us. "Our enemy" said he, "never presented a more imposing exterior. His fortune is at the flood. But I am admonished by universal experience, that such prosperity is the most precarious of human conditions. From the flood the tide dates its ebb. From the meridian the sun commences his decline. Depend upon it, there is more of sound philosophy than of fiction in the fickleness which poets attribute to fortune. Prosperity has its weakness; adversity its strength. In many respects our enemy has lost by these changes which seem so very much in his favor. He can no more claim to be struggling for existence; no more to be fighting the battles of the world, in defence of the liberties of mankind." Never was political prophecy more amply verified. In a

few short months from the time it was uttered, the veterans who had marched almost in continual triumph from Lisbon to Paris, were destined at New Orleans to resign the palm of victory into the hands of troops that had never frequented the tented field, nor felt their spirits stirred by the glorious concourse of arms. From behind the darkest clouds of adversity, the star of our country burst forth in more than its pristine effulgence. From that day the United States ceased to have merely a putative rank among the great family of nations. It was now felt that she had a right to speak, and speaking, she must be heard. If such be now their estimation and exalted place among the nations, is there any man who has more contributed to the glorious result than Carolina's illustrious son? In all great undertakings, the first successful step is the harbinger of those which follow, and he who takes it, secures a distinction from which no subsequent chance can eject him. When we survey the vast domain that stretches in boundless magnificence from the Atlantic to the Pacific, teeming with ever-multiplying hosts of men, happy and contented, and able to defend and adorn the rich inheritance, let us never forget what is due to him, who in the darkest hour of our country's peril, predicted the brilliancy of the future prospect, and rallied the hearts and nerved the arms of his compatriots to achieve the noble destiny.

Peace being happily restored, Mr. CALHOUN took a leading part in all the measures necessary to restore the nation, without fear of collapse to her ordinary position, by the restoration of the finances to a healthy condition, and by the salvation of those great interests which had started up under the unnatural excitement of war. The currency of the country was rotten through all its vast and overshadowing ramifications. What individuals, if left to themselves, could never have effected, was marvellously accomplished by the multiplication of corporate credit, and promises to pay were generated in such reckless profusion, that it seemed almost madness to dream of liquidation. Mr. CALHOUN saw plainly that the revival of commerce, and the renewal of our intercourse with foreigners, must in a very short time bring the whole system to a halt. Our own citizens might be satisfied in the receipt of such exchanges as the circulation of domestic products furnished, but foreigners could only be satisfied by liquidating their balances in the currency of the world. Correction, he saw, could only come from the application of force extraneous to the system; and he proposed to apply a compression stringent enough to restore the elasticity of its materials, but not powerful enough to crush them. He gave his consent and support, therefore, to the formation of the Bank, in connection with the reception and distri-

bution of the Government funds, not as abstractedly the best scheme, but as the best which the country could bear. The chartering of this institution is, perhaps, the only instance in which a keen perception of the value and jealous guardianship of State Rights may be said to have forsaken him. The friends of strict construction have always contended that, as the creation of a corporation is the highest act of sovereignty, if it be not contained, which it is not, among the enumerated powers, it could never be permitted to pass as an incident to the powers granted. This vast fiscal machine proved itself unworthy of the high confidence reposed in it, and, after numerous shocks and perilous escapes, reached the term of its existence, having precipitated the finances of the country into a more frightful depth of destruction, than that in which it originally found them. Whilst its rottenness remained concealed, Mr. CALHOUN defended its rights, and even favored the renewal, for a short period, of its charter, with a view to the gradual and final liquidation of its affairs. As soon, however, as the failure of the scheme and the greatness of the ruin became apparent, Mr. CALHOUN, whilst he felt the impossibility of correcting past mistakes, gave his whole energies to the support of the only plan by which future disasters could be avoided. In allusion to Mr. Rives' proposal of substituting the State Banks as depositories of the public funds, he observed: "Nor ought he to be surprised that those who joined him in the first, [experiment in 1836,] should be rather shy of trying the experiment again, after having been blown into the air, and burned and scalded by the explosion."

Mr. CALHOUN'S course, on the subject of the Tariff of 1816, has often been grossly misrepresented, as if he had first been an advocate of the American system and then abandoned it. That Tariff was strictly a fiscal measure, intended to meet the current expenses of the Government, and to provide a fund for the extinguishment of the national debt. In pursuing the latter of these objects, there were plainly two feasible methods, either to subject the public resources to the least possible burden, by distributing the amount over a very long series of years, or by a rapid process of extinguishment, to remove the weight from off the shoulders of the nation, and leave it, at once, free and untrammelled in the development of its wealth and power. The slower process would have left room for intermediate projects, involving immense outlays and eventuating in an indefinite postponement of the redemption of the public faith. New wars might thus arise and find us laboring under the undiminished pressure of former misfortunes or extravagancies. The rapid extinction of the public indebtedness was surely a requisition of correct statesmanship, fraught, when viewed

simply upon its own merits, with every prospect of advantage to the country at large. Whilst arranging the plan, Mr. CALHOUN rejoiced that, incidentally, vested interests, which had conferred incalculable benefits upon the community, at a time when they were greatly needed, would be sustained and preserved for future usefulness. Soon after this adjustment, he quitted Congress to engage in the Executive Department of the Government. His commanding position now gave him an ample opportunity of estimating the aims and tendencies of what was then habitually obtaining the appellation of the American system. He saw the inequality of its operation, and its utter destitution of all foundation of right, either in the letter or the spirit of the constitution. I have heard him say, that after returning home in 1816, upon a relation and near neighbor suggesting to him, that some objection had been made to his course, he replied that he regarded the measure as a fiscal one—that as a system the thought had never even crossed his mind, and should never enlist his support.

Whilst pursuing his striking career as a member of Congress, possessing at once the admiration and confidence of the entire Union, he was selected by the new President, at the formation of his Cabinet, to take the direction of the War Department. In estimating the value to be attached to this appointment, it must be recollected, that the affairs of the War Office were in a state of great confusion, and demanded a thorough and searching reform, and that it was a leading rule with Mr. Monroe, in selecting his coadjutors, never to appoint any man, with respect to whom the humblest citizen might have to ask—"Who is he?" This promotion was received without the slightest solicitation and was quite unexpected. Mr. CALHOUN's friends rather advised against his acceptance of it, on account of its crushing responsibility, and from the fact that he was at that time utterly unacquainted with the requisite military details. In such matters friends may advise, and their communications may be very available elements in the formation of a correct judgment, but at last a man of genius is the fittest estimator of his own powers. When feeble minds survey a stretch of difficulties, each one makes its separate impression by tale and weight. But the commanding intellect, separates them into squadrons, and knows that when two or three are vanquished, the rest vanish spontaneously. Mr. CALHOUN resolved to direct the best energies of his mind to the task assigned him. In doing so, he commenced in a manner strikingly characteristic of the man. Instead of a stately air and imperious habits, which would have been a signal to his agents to withhold all information from him; instead of wordy promises and abortive, because

ill-considered efforts, with a view to popular and ephemeral applause, he, for the first few months, adopted the course of a "masterly inactivity." His eye was everywhere; his ear constantly open; his attention and observation in continual exercise, whilst his genial temper and bland but inartificial manners, invited and secured confidence. Details in great number and variety in this way became familiar, and his subsequent generalizations, were not vapid abstractions, but tallied with the true state of facts, and at once met and provided for the exigencies of the public service. A judicious economy, a severe system of accountability, and a constant intelligence with the department, were the chief means relied upon for success. The consequence was, that a complete synopsis of all the transactions of the army might have been furnished at any moment. Universal satisfaction prevailed, and it is not too much to say, that no superintendent of our military affairs, either before or since, has ever afforded more gratification to all employed under him. The new Secretary's plans had no trace of servile imitation in them, yet were devised and carried through with such ability, that a general officer, who had been high in favor with Napoleon, observed that he had known no man, who, in the rapidity and certainty of his combinations, so much resembled his ancient patron, as Mr. CALHOUN.

In the medical staff of the army he also instituted a plan for the collection of the statistics of temperature, climate, and diseases, which have led to many valuable inferences that a physician of merit has since placed before the world in a permanent form.

The Academy at West Point, also, shared largely in his fostering care. Its course of studies was reformed and enlarged; classes were permanently fixed, and no promotion from a lower to a higher class permitted, until the requisitions of the former were complied with. The ablest instructors were engaged, their authority sustained, and they required to transmit to the Department a regular and faithful account of the conduct and progress of every pupil. It is now admitted, even by foreigners, not favorably disposed towards our institutions, to be one of the most efficient military schools which any country can boast of. Indeed, the triumph of our arms, recently achieved in Mexico, abundantantly attests the scientific attainments and the high efficiency of its pupils, when in actual service.

Time rolled on, and the commencement of Mr. Monroe's second term having been entered upon, it was natural for the country to discuss the merits of those who were conceived fit to succeed him. There was, in Pennsylvania, a very warm feeling in favor of Mr. CALHOUN,

whilst, in Carolina, many were anxious to have the claims of Mr. Lowndes considered. Without the privity of either, their respective friends, according to the bent of their predilections, nominated the one or other for the high station. Between the two the kindest feelings and the highest estimate of each other's character had long subsisted. Mr. CALHOUN, as rather the younger, made the first advance towards the removal of this awkward dilemma, by assuring his rival of his utter previous ignorance of the proposed nomination, and by requesting that the whole proceeding should create no change in their friendly relations. Ambition is generally so rank in its appetite and so oblivious of the calls of magnanimity, that the conduct pursued by these two favorite sons of our State, on this occasion, affords a touching spectacle of disinterested patriotism. It is cheering to reflect, that their friendship never suffered the slightest diminution.

It is to be regretted, for the cause of sound principles, that the rivalry between Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. Crawford did not settle down into like harmony. Educated together, there had always existed between them a certain degree of emulation not inconsistent with strong attachment. Mr. Crawford had, at the last election for President, been brought forward by his friends on a caucus nomination. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Mr. CALHOUN had had frequent intercourse with Mr. Monroe, who was Secretary of State under Mr. Madison. The greater age, the revolutionary claims and the long public service of Mr. Monroe, had made him prominent, and he was regarded as in the legitimate line of the succession. That under all the circumstances, Mr. CALHOUN should have conceived a high degree of attachment for Mr. Monroe, and have regarded his elevation to power with approbation, can afford no ground of censure to any reasonable man. In addition, he had always expressed himself as opposed to caucus nominations. He regarded them as filching from the people the highest and most animating privilege, which, by the Constitution, they had reserved to themselves. By a corrupt understanding also among party managers, it followed, as a necessary result, that all the great officers of the Government were designated beforehand.

Popular enthusiasm in Pennsylvania having been strongly demonstrated to be in favor of General Jackson, Mr. CALHOUN very readily acquiesced in the withdrawal of his name by his friends. Being, however, subsequently adopted both by the partizans of General Jackson and Mr. Adams, as their candidate for Vice President, he was elected with little opposition.

Mr. CALHOUN was never without misgivings of the propriety of ad-

vancing to the highest station in the land, one whose merits, though of the highest order, were purely military. Yet, so far as he had given any indication of opinion, the hero of New Orleans always professed himself to be a disciple of the school of Jefferson—a rigid constructionist and a great advocate of economy and retrenchment. On the other hand, Mr. Adams was known to favor the most latitudinarian construction, and to regard the "general welfare" as the one comprehensive and essential clause of our federal compact. In the event, each disappointed public expectation. Mr. Adams, in practice, was comparatively moderate and economical, whilst General Jackson pushed the Presidential prerogative to an extent, which laughed all responsibility to scorn. His first term of service exhibited an unhesitating abandonment of his best friends and an unblushing canvass for re-election. Towards the end of his term of service the Government had become the same with that of Rome under Octavius—the forms of freedom were speciously observed, where no present exigency tempted to a violation of them, but in reality the empire had found a master.

When sectional legislation and practical disregard of all principle had reached this unhappy eminence, Mr. CALHOUN saw, at a glance, that the expectation of reform through the ballot-box was desperate. The people were literally fascinated with the military features of an administration, in which will had succeeded to the place of law. Tried by any standard of enlightened policy, it was a satire upon free institutions. The liquidation of the National debt was the avowed motive for enormous taxation; almost equal in amount to one-half the exports of the country, and when it was found that this excuse was rapidly vanishing, the still more monstrous proposition of distributing the surplus revenue began to be agitated. In all the annals of human infatuation and misgovernment, there is nothing on record to equal this. Cromwell's taxation, the first of protective systems, was so managed as to stimulate, perhaps unwisely, the development of British resources, but every farthing of it was necessary to meet the expenditures of the country. For the last fifty years, the greatest minds of all nations, Turgot and Adam Smith and Franklin had been occupied in demonstrating, that a country never flourishes so much, as when all restrictions upon industry and competition are removed, and men, for success, are commended to their own unshackled energies, but, as if to show how small the wisdom, which usually presides over the affairs of nations, America gathers up the cast off rags of European policy, and feels dazzled and delighted with the supposed splendor of her political apparel.

South Carolina, from generous motives, had tolerated the Tariff of 1816, but every fresh impost, after that, met with her decided opposition and protest. She had not bargained for the semblance of independence, but the substance, and that the forms of law were observed, whilst intolerable burdens were heaped upon her, she held to be no alleviation, but only the addition of insult to injury. So early as 1820, the House of Representatives of South Carolina affirmed the principle of Free Trade, but declined embarrassing the action of Congress, in what seemed to be intended for the regulation of Commerce. In 1825, both branches of our Legislature, denounced as unconstitutional, all duties levied for the purpose of protecting domestic manufactures. In 1827, the Legislature again, in a very able memorial, reäffirmed the whole subject of State Rights and a limited interpretation of the Constitution, and specially denounced the Tariff of Protection as unconstitutional, and so instructed our Senators in Congress. In 1828, there was a very energetic and eloquent Protest, accompanied by instructions. To these, Resolutions were appended, in which it is boldly announced, "That the measures to be pursued, consequent on the perseverance in this system, are purely questions of expediency and not of allegiance. Simultaneous with these, there was read and ordered to be printed, an Exposition of singular ability, known to have proceeded from the pen of Mr. CALHOUN. In it, the iniquitous operation of the Tariff for protection, is exposed with profound ability, and yet most dispassionately argued. The document, however, is still more remarkable for its correct estimate of liberty, and the safeguards necessary to secure it, and for its lucid development of the practical working of the Constitution. "Liberty," it is there strongly urged, "comprehends the idea of *responsible power*, that those who make and execute the laws should be controlled by those on whom they operate, that the governed should govern." * * * * * * * "In fact, the abuse of delegated power, and the tyranny of the greater over the lesser interests of society, are the two great dangers, and the only two, to be guarded against; and if *they* be effectually guarded, liberty must be *eternal.*" * * * * * * "No government, based upon the naked principle that the majority ought to govern, however true the maxim in its proper sense, and under proper restrictions, ever preserved its liberty for a single generation." * * * * * * "Those governments only, which provide checks, which limit and restrain within proper bounds the power of the majority, have had a prolonged existence, and been distinguished for virtue, power and happiness. Constitutional government, and the government of a majority are utterly incompatible, it being the sole

free and strong enough to sustain the burden, or to hurl it again into confusion and chaos. Was not his moderation as remarkable as his merit?

In the summer of 1831, Mr. CALHOUN put forth a very able address, on the subject of the relations, which the State and General Government bear to each other. It is a very powerful paper, and fixed the political faith of many, who, till then, had been unable to decide for themselves. It was, however, superseded in its importance, by another, addressed to General Hamilton, in which the whole subject was resumed and advanced to the consideration of the remedy in State interposition and nullification. It is an able didactic composition, close and compact in its arrangement, presenting a masterly synopsis of the fundamental principles of free government. It is chiefly remarkable for the perspicacity and vigor with which it demonstrates the vast importance of checks and balances in every form of popular polity. Under the designations of the absolute and concurring majorities, he traces the oscillations of power, and shows how, by a combination of different materials in the prime mover, and a well calculated antagonism in their forces, the motion of the entire machinery may be rendered equable and permanent. The whole exhibits the developments of a mind long familiar with the aptest precedents both of ancient and modern times. Speaking of the two great adjusting principles before referred to, he observes—"Of this modification the British and Spartan governments are by far the most remarkable and perfect examples. In others the right of acting—of making and executing the laws, was vested in one interest, and the right of arresting or nullifying in another. Of this description the Roman Government is much the most striking instance. In others, the right of originating or introducing projects of laws was in one and of enacting them in another: as at Athens, before its government degenerated, where the Senate proposed, and the General Assembly of the people enacted laws."

It is impossible to resist quoting the following paragraph, in which the brightest rays of his mind appear to be drawn to a focus of the utmost intensity of light and heat. "Two powers," he remarks, "are necessary to the existence and preservation of free States: a power on the part of the ruled to prevent rulers from abusing their authority, by compelling them to be faithful to their constituents, and which is effected through the right of suffrage; and a power *to compel the parts of society to be just to one another, by compelling them to consult the interest of each other*, which can only be effected, whatever may be the device for the purpose, by requiring the concurring assent of all the great and dis-

tinct interests of the community to the measures of the government. This result is the sum total of all the contrivances adopted by free States to preserve their liberty, by preventing the conflicts between the several parts or classes of the community. Both powers are indispensable. The one as much so as the other. The rulers are not more disposed to encroach on the ruled, than the different interests of the community on one another, nor would they more certainly convert their power from the just and legitimate objects for which governments are instituted into an instrument of aggrandizement, at the expense of the ruled, unless made responsible to their constituents, than would the stronger interests theirs, at the expense of the weaker, unless compelled to consult them in the measures of the government, by taking their separate and concurring assent. The same cause operates in both cases. The constitution of our nature, which would impel the rulers to oppress the ruled, unless prevented, would in like manner, and with equal force, impel the stronger to oppress the weaker interest. To vest the right of government in the absolute majority, would be in fact, *but to embody the will of the stronger interest, in the operations of the government, and not the will of the whole community, and to leave the others unprotected, a prey to its ambition and cupidity,* just as would be the case, between rulers and ruled, if the right to govern was vested exclusively in the hands of the former. They would both be, in reality, absolute and despotic governments: the one as much so as the other."

From the earliest records of their colonial history, down to the present time, the people of South Carolina have shown themselves little disposed to tolerate the abuses of government. They wrested the reins of power from the incompetent hands of the proprietary rulers, by a very high-handed revolution. To the royal authority, they for a half a century submitted with a devotion which might have been almost denominated filial. The moment, however, that it became apparent that advantage was about to be taken of this state of things to evacuate the principles of the Constitution, indignation and defiance were substitued for loyalty and obedience. Brought into existence, almost simultaneously with the great Revolution of 1688, her notions were all in favor of regulated liberty; not the comet-like coruscation, which starts in madness from its sphere, but maintaining a well ascertained orbit, impressed upon her, alike by the dictates of freedom and the demands of subordination. Mr. CALHOUN, born on the soil and nurtured in early life, amidst the inspiring associations of a revolution, whose success had been cemented by the blood of his relatives and family connections, knew the cost of independence, and felt that it could not be perpetuated

by mere parchment stipulations, but by the intelligence and dauntless resolution of those who had inherited it. All the due preliminaries of conflict, explanation, remonstrance, entreaty, protest, having been exhausted, he felt, that some decided form of action was necessary to convince our antagonists that we were in earnest. The enactment of the iniquitous Tariff of 1832, in the face of so many calls and reasons for forbearance, with the Treasury full to overflowing, and wild schemes of distribution afloat, seemed to announce the knell of freedom, and emphatically to proclaim the will of the majority and not the Constitution to be the law of the land. To this was joined the kindly memento of the President, of an earlier date, that among his "high and sacred duties" was the exercise of coercion, should the common-wealth prove refractory. The Legislature of the State being specially convened by Governor Hamilton, resolved upon the call of a Convention, the highest earthly authority known to the people of South Carolina, and the legitimate successor of that by which the Constitution had been adopted. The Convention pronounced the whole system of a Tariff for protection, to be *fatal to the prosperity* of the people of the State, and a *gross, deliberate and palpable violation of their Constitutional rights.* This was immediately followed by an address to the State, in which the Convention declared: "We have solemnly resolved upon the course, which it becomes our beloved State to pursue—we have resolved that until these abuses be reformed, *No more taxes shall be paid here.* "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute." They concluded with a religious appeal, in a tone of the profoundest reverence—and with the solemn injunction to their fellow-citizens, "Do your duty to your country and leave the consequences to God!"

General Hayne having been designated as successor to the Chief Magistracy of the State, resigned his situation as Senator in Congress. Mr. Calhoun was immediately appointed to the vacant office, and though it was seen to be one of imminent peril and vast responsibility, resigned, with great self-sacrifice, the Vice Presidency of the Union, in order to sustain his own principles now become the voice of the State. From that period, so completely was he rivetted in the affections of the people that his voice and that of the people were one. Thenceforth, politics and parties, within the State, were scarcely heeded by him. All the energies of the man were directed to the accomplishment of the reforms which he knew to be necessary to the preservation and permanence of the Union. For that Union, in the use of its legitimate powers, with all its associations of glory and renown, derived from its past achievements, and all its prospects for the future development of

its immense physical, mental and moral resources, no man entertained a higher or intenser admiration than he. It was the great arena in which his own reputation and renown had reached that palmy height, which was the envy of many and the admiration of all. In addition to the working out of their own happy destiny, he hoped to see the United States affording the other nations of the world a model of rational and permanent liberty. His feelings were now intensely wound up, in reference to his double task of saving the Union and rescuing the country at large, from the most deplorable doom that can await a nation—the triumph of irresponsible power. At this time, during a short stay which he made in Columbia, I called upon him and found him alone. He never appeared in better health, nor calmer and more self-possessed. On my mentioning the report, which extensively prevailed, that the President intended to have him arrested as soon as he arrived in Washington, he replied with a smile on his countenance, but with perfect dignity: "It will not be done; my opponents are too politic to attempt it, but as far as myself and the cause are concerned, I should desire nothing better; it would set people a thinking." On his arrival at the seat of government, he took the earliest opportunity, from his place in the Senate, to re-affirm his principles, and offered a series of resolutions, in which they were succinctly and forcibly embodied. He thus obtained a hearing, and if his views were attacked, the privilege of reply. Mr. Webster wished Mr. CALHOUN to precede him in the debate on the Force Bill, and carried his point, but having also incidentally touched upon the resolutions, Mr. CALHOUN in his rejoinder so completely established the basis of his doctrine, that his magnanimous antagonist was obliged to admit, that if the historical facts, concerning the origin and progress of the Constitution, were as had been stated, that it was impossible to escape the conclusion. Mr. Clay willingly lent himself to the work of compromise, and Mr. CALHOUN, anxious only for the restoration of sound principles, was willing to allow very moderate rates of reduction, operating through a long series of years. Even in undoing, what had been badly done, Mr. CALHOUN was unwilling to crush the private citizen, who had been beguiled into hazardous enterprizes by the irregular action of his rulers. Indeed, to his wise and prophetic mind, a dissolution of the Union was one of the greatest evils and second only to that of submission to the fiat of an uncontrolled majority. Never was there a more cheering proof of what a single exalted mind, of competent ability, can effect for the preservation of liberty. Only a few short months after the most vexatious of imposts had been laid with a reckless hand, the whole grievance, so far

as related to the possibility of future action, was removed. The Force Bill, on which Mr. CALHOUN's admirable effort has been already noticed, was indeed past, but it was only the surly snarl of the mastiff, when his prey has escaped. If fighting had been the object, South Carolina was prepared, at all points, for the conflict; but she saw plainly that in a polity, which was understood to be founded upon the consent of the governed, the moment coercion became necessary to retain any member in the Union, the system became a shapeless abortion. She was determined not to assume the responsibility before the world of dissipating all the animating hopes which rallied around this hitherto successful experiment in self-government. Along with the acceptance of the compromise act, by the Convention, the Force Bill ceased to be of the slightest significance. As soon as things were happily adjusted at Washington, Mr. CALHOUN hastened to Carolina, with the utmost expedition, in order that the State might not be without the influence of his moderation and calm judgment. That the Union is safe, and that our scheme of regulated liberty continues to flourish, is more owing, under Providence, to Mr. CALHOUN, than to all other causes put together. Indeed, up to the latest period of his existence, he never failed to warn the young and inexperienced, not rashly to discard so rich an inheritance. He maintained, that whatever might be the just causes of discontent, and whatever the acrimony of our struggles to remove them, we, in the United States, at last enjoyed more true happiness, than any other country of the globe.

Time would fail us, should we attempt even the most cursory glance at all the important discussions in which Mr. CALHOUN took a part for the next ten years. The most remarkable of these were on the Sub-Treasury; the Distribution Bill; the Treaty of Washington; and the Oregon Bill. With regard to Oregon, his plan of policy would have consisted in continuing the treaty for joint occupation, and for the rest, to be content with a "masterly inactivity." To use his own words: "There is often in the affairs of government, more efficiency and wisdom in non-action than in action." Pretenders in all professions, we may add, rush into action upon all occasions, because they have no rule of right within themselves. They selfishly hope that a momentary success may answer the demands of their own vanity or cupidity. They discourse blandly of the wants and expectations of the public, but the sagacious know that they mean only themselves. Accordingly, the whole affair was abandoned to popular enthusiasm, which soon produced a crisis, attended with a commercial pressure, caused by the fear of a protracted war, with our most valuable customer. Mr.

CALHOUN felt that justice was as much a cardinal virtue among nations as among men. Of a property long held in common, he knew that it was in vain to set up a claim which covered nearly the whole of it. In opposition to all party clamor, he contended for an equitable adjustment—one which a great nation might accede to without loss of honor. Upon this basis a treaty was at last concluded, in which both countries have entirely acquiesced. This whole transaction afforded a remarkable proof of the correct and exalted rules of action, which invariably influenced the conduct of this great man. When England

> "did bestride the narrow world
> Like a Colossus"—

trampling the rights of unoffending and defenceless nations under foot, he felt that America should make no other answer to insult than a cartel of defiance. But when peace had been restored and long friendship ripened into habit, and where the difficulty involved no great principle, to rush on war, with all its hazards and all his horrors, appeared to him, not magnanimity, but madness.

Towards the close of Mr. Tyler's administration, Mr. CALHOUN consented to accept a place in his Cabinet, purely with a view to carry through the negotiations for the annexation of Texas. They could, with propriety, be entrusted to no other agency than that of a Southern statesman, and he strong enough to sustain the act before the nation and the world. The appointment gave universal satisfaction, and the success, which attended it, confirmed the opinion of the wisdom that dictated it. Latterly there had been but little sympathy on public measures between the President and the new Secretary, but there was one tie which had prevented separation from being transformed into alienation. CALHOUN could never forget, Carolina could never forget, that, when in the Senate of the United States, her principles were stigmatized as treason, and herself driven to the wall, John Tyler was the only man, not of her soil, who boldly avowed his adhesion to them.

As had been predicted by some, the annexation of Texas involved the nation in a war with Mexico. Mr. CALHOUN thought the event possible, but not probable, if subsequent proceedings were inspired with prudence and moderation. At a later period, he contended that the mere crossing of the Del Norte, and the effort to occupy territory of which Mexico had never consented to divest herself, was not a cause of war. We had grounds to resist her entrance into or to drive her from territory which we held under color of right, but that we pursued an indefensible course, when, without causes transcending the

limits of negotiation, and without a previous declaration of war, we invaded her soil, sacked her cities and slaughtered her defenceless inhabitants. Her weakness, he thought, should have pleaded as an additional cause of forbearance. Hatred of oppression and wrong; contempt for all subterfuge and indirectness of conduct, were the very instincts of his nature: He was a lively exemplification of the profound truth, uttered long ago by a French writer of depth and acuteness, "great thoughts come from the heart."*

On no subject have Mr. CALHOUN'S views been less understood; with respect to none, was he more exposed to the wanton attacks of calumny and vituperation, than on the subject of our peculiar institutions. His perspicacity was too searching; his readings of history too ample; his appreciation of the nature of language too accurate to permit him to bandy in argument such terms as "best" and "worst," as if they carried an absolute meaning. He knew that they were relative—relative to some previous state of things, to some other condition of existence. He held that in most instances, the government of every people was only a reflexion of its actual physical, moral and industrial condition—that to attempt a republic in Hindostan, would be as bootless as to proclaim a monarchy in the United States. Equality of political rights pre-supposes equality of condition—if mental independence and property be generally diffused, you may expect to rear a fabric of government, whose movements may be generated and perpetuated from its own internal energies. On the other hand, if the minds of the mass be yielding and prostrate, timid and unenterprizing, their spring of action must be derived from without. Unless the previous elements be supplied, you may proclaim the forms of freedom, but you will only evolve a subtler and more desolating phasis of despotism. He held it to be a "mistake so often and so fatally repeated, that to *expel a despot is to establish liberty*—a mistake to which we may trace the failure of many noble and generous efforts in favor of liberty. He, therefore, looked rather with apprehension than hope, upon the revolutionary mania which has assailed the ancient institutions of Europe, within the last few years. He saw plainly that the human condition must be rather deteriorated than improved, when anarchy is substituted for subordination. He did not believe, that by any declaration of liberty, however solemn or grandiloquent, you can make men free, unless they have been prepared by a long and practical training. Men look with envy and desire upon the happy exemption from shackles, which

* "Les grandes pensees viennent du cœur."—*Vauvenargues.*

we enjoy, but they forget the plain of Runny-mede, the fight at Edge-hill, the landing at Torbay, the struggle at Breed's Hill, and the crowning glory at York Town. You cannot compress such events into a day or a century. The spreading creeper, which shades the wall, with its luxuriant and graceful foliage, starts up in a few weeks of summer, and perishes to the root at the approach of winter, but the mantling oak pursues its progress to grandeur and strength, through sun-shine and through storm, sometimes faster and again slower, through long revolving periods, affording apt shelter and cool shade to countless generations of ephemeral men.

For free institutions then, there must be capacity to develop, and there must be time. If this be true of races whom nature has endowed with an original aptitude for freedom, and among whom we discover, in all other respects, the most brilliant results of mental power and progress, what must be said of those who, for thousands of years, have exhibited the same undeviating level of degradation and stagnation? If it be asked now why the African is held in hopeless bondage? the answer is plain: because he has never been able at any period of his history to show titles to a higher destiny. To use the language of the immortal Stagirite,* pronounced of races originally possessing a much higher physical type—"They are slaves because it is their interest to be so: they can obey reason, although they are unable to exercise it." Are there no other portions of society whose lot may be said to be equally hard in being deprived of all share of Government? Mr. Calhoun pronounced emphatically that African Slavery was a blessing, because whatever hysteric tears a false philanthropy pours over his destiny, the African sheds none for himself. Nature, so far, has cursed him with no dreams of progress which he cannot gratify. Whenever, like the Anglo-Saxon, he shall deal in all sorts of curious and gainful inventions; and by perseverance in his plans and audacity in their execution, he has raised himself to the level of his master, the tables will be changed—it will then be the interest of his master to raise him

* Aristot. de Repub. Lib. I. Cap. 5. In all systems the safety of the whole depends upon the predominance of the superior parts. In man, the soul is naturally superior to the body. Man is naturally superior to the lower animals, and if there be those whose intelligence reaches no higher than to render them a superior kind of machines, it is right, and for their own interest, that they should obey the higher intelligence. Where these distinctions do not exist, but slavery depends merely upon the force of law, it is unjust. In his own words:

"ὁ κοινωνῶν λογε τοσετον, ὅσον αἰσθάνσθαι αλλά μή ἔχειν. * * *
* * βελεται μέν εν η φὸσίς. κ. τ. λ. * * * *
* * * * ὁτι μὲν τοίνυν ἐισὶ φύσει τινες." κ. τ. λ.

to a political level with himself, for he will be destitute of all power to depress him below his deserts. Hitherto liberty, glory, art, progress, have not been marked in the African vocabulary. If he utters them, it is because, like the tropical bird, he has been taught to chatter and to repeat from external prompting, words to which he really attaches no ideas. Hitherto, he has invented nothing, he has improved nothing: the world owes him nothing for any single comfort by which the lot of humanity is cheered, nor for any contribution to science by which the elevation of man's descent is asserted. He is, in truth, what the scathing satire of the Roman historian, depicted the sensualists of his time to have been—"*veluti pecora, quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit:*" His lowest are his strongest instincts. With such an array of striking and familiar facts continually forcing themselves upon the notice of all, who are not subject to judicial blindness, the madness of fanaticism, ever since the foundation of our Constitution, has nevertheless been constantly dreaming of some paradise of negro perfectibility. For a time, it was said he had no chance: make him free and he will surprise the world by the rapidity of his march towards excellence. Have their eyes been closed upon the two pictures which the march of events has unfolded for our instruction? Are Hayti and Jamaica, the one sunk into the lowest depths of religious, moral, and political degradation, and the other fast hastening to the same irreversible doom, fit objects for imitation? Surely, in the words of nature's great analyst, "There is scarce truth enough alive to make society secure; but security enough to make fellowships accursed: much upon this riddle runs the wisdom of the world."

To a philanthropy so fraught with folly, to apply no harsher epithet, Mr. CALHOUN could never be induced to give the slightest quarter. He believed that the whole subject of slavery was foreign to the legitimate action of Congress, and should be forever banished from its halls. He was not so unreasonable as to expect that men who knew nothing of the practical working of our system, should form the same estimate of it as ourselves, but he did think it becoming, that when men are ignorant, they should be silent. He felt that it was a system which no rude and foreign hand could with safety be permitted to touch. Left to ourselves, and to the great innovator, time, he knew that the interest of the master would of itself ultimately generate any improvement that seemed feasible; but that officious intrusion, although it might accidentally hurl the co-ordinate interests of the two races into utter ruin, could never be productive of salutary change. Mr. CALHOUN utterly opposed the whole right of petition, as having not the slightest foundation in our recorded compacts.

Farther he perceived, that for the fair and safe working out of the system, it must be kept distinctly agricultural, and not be suffered to be abridged of large and ample limits. If in the acquisition of these any expenses were sustained by one portion of the Union, without an immediate equivalent, it had already been more than forestalled by the immense contribution of the South to the public domain, and by the compromises to which it had already submitted, for the sake of peace. Beyond those compromises, he was utterly opposed to concession, for he knew that if the weaker section for an instant acquiesced under any derogation of right, the little finger of usurpation would soon effectuate a breach large enough for the whole body of power to enter. He was convinced that if we were less teeming with population than other sections, the spirit of the predominant race was more than a match for any force which could be brought to bear against it. His watch-word to the South, therefore, was equality of burdens and equality of privileges at any and at all hazards. Freemen should be just, generous, even wary in their demands upon others, but having once made an issue upon principle, they could afterwards yield nothing.

> "Peace be to France; if France in peace permit
> Our just and lineal entrance to our own!
> If not, bleed France, and Peace ascend to Heav'n!
> Whilst we, God's wrathful agent, do correct
> Their proud contempt, that beat his Peace to Heaven."

Mr. CALHOUN'S last appearance in the Senate of the United States, to take any active part in its debates, was on the 4th of March. Although obliged to rely upon the utterance of a friend, we may notwithstanding say, *"Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio," as Cicero declared concerning Crassus, on the sudden demise of the latter, after having exerted himself with great vehemence in the Senate. It was the last voice of the swan, chanting its own monody. The speech was a resumption and review of nearly every thing that he had been urging, for the last seventeen years. He declared the balance of power between the North and the South to be utterly disturbed, in favor of the former; that both in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College, the North possessed a striking preponderance, that if the territory now contended to be surrendered to her prejudices, should be added to what she had already secured, she would have succeeded in appropriating to herself three-fourths of the newly acquired public

* De Orat. Lib. III., Cap. 2.

domain; that she had laid the most unjust and onerous imposts upon the weaker section, and revelled in the division of the spoils; that not satisfied with these, she had sought to convert a well-adjusted Federal Republic into an absolute democratic majority; that she called in Executive force to consummate the wrong; and that in addition to and above all these grievances, for the last fifteen years the chief public occupation of her people had been to preach a crusade against slavery as an unpardonable sin, and to band themselves together for its abolition. That insult and oppression had attained a height that left the South no alternative but to resist them. A remedy, he declared, must be found, and it belonged to the North to propose it. He protested that the cry of Union had been vociferated so often that the spell was losing its charm, and that even the illustrious Southerner, who had, under better auspices, lent the magic of his name to increase the force of the Talisman, could he now be heard, would counsel resistance. He observed that the two great distinctions of parties, which by their mutual opposition formerly kept up in every part of the country, secured the equilibrium of the government, were now lost in a secret struggle to obtain the support of fanatics, by surrendering the safe-guards of the Federal polity. He also insisted with great power upon the fact that the bond formerly existing among the various religious denominations, with some was already ruptured, and with the remainder was fast giving way. The course attempted to be pursued in the case of the territories, especially California, was, he declared, a fraud upon the Constitution, and ought to be immediately renounced.

It was the parting legacy of our illustrious patriot. He had never uttered his opinions with more earnestness and less passion. We trust that the warning may not remain unheeded, nor without its salutary influence. His whole career, from his first connection with the Federal Government, to its noble and impressive close, may be pronounced a triumphal progress. The Union admired him, his own State adored him, troops of friends and retainers surrounded him, the young equally with the old flocked to his presence. But he was no flatterer, no intriguer, no speculator for influence, supported by the power of bestowing largesses alike on the worthless or the worthy. He was a severe estimator of men, but whatever any man's character or services properly claimed, he freely conceded to him. There was, besides, a genial sympathy with human nature, which stripped him of the trappings of artificial manners, whilst it invested him with a union of natural grace and dignity, inviting approach, but securing respect. Wisdom and instruction flowed from his lips in a continual stream, yet so unaffectedly and without all arrogance, that the listener hung upon his words. He

possessed also that infallible indication of high manners—he was in his turn a ready and attentive listener. No matter what the subject, if it involved nothing indecent or trivial, he cheerfully followed. Nor was he eager to lead; on the contrary, he kindly permitted his companions to select their topics, knowing that men converse most pleasantly upon what they best understand. A child would have been attracted by his kindliness, whilst a philosopher might feel that he stood in no ordinary presence. Deriving his motives of action from his own internal perceptions of excellence, it is astonishing how little solicitous he was about attracting the gaze or sharing the plaudits of the multitude. He refused invitations to public festivals to be celebrated in his own honor, so frequently, and they were known to be really so little to his taste, that they were at last withheld from motives of respect to his opinion. He might arrive at an hotel, when crowded, and be refused its hospitality, because his person was not recognized. He has been denied, by the way-side, a cup of cold water, to slake his feverish thirst, because wholly unknown; the unfortunate author of the denial, long after, when apprised of his mistake, saying that had he declared himself, he would have run miles to gratify his wish. On one occasion, business calling him into a neighboring State, it happened that an humble laborer in the mines was prostrated with fever. When the physician arrived, quite late at night, he found a very unpretending person seated at the foot of the patient's bed, and proceeded, as a matter of course, to interrogate him concerning the case. Having retired, the next day, the physician observed the same person in the piazza of the village tavern, and eagerly inquired who he was, for, said he, "I met him last night in the sick chamber, and was astonished at the clearness and pertinence of his remarks." "Do you not know him?" replied the person addressed. "That, Sir, is JOHN C. CALHOUN." This anecdote rests on indubitable authority, and has been related because it appears to be in such admirable keeping with the whole character of the man.

When at the head of the War Department, some one offered to name to him an individual of his office who was in the habit of betraying the secrets of his department to his opponents. His reply was characteristic: "My bitterest enemies are welcome to know all that occurs in my department. I think well of all about me, and do not wish to change my opinion, and as far as the communication of information is concerned, I only regret that my permission was not asked, as it would have been freely granted." *

* See a terse and succinct biography, prefixed to the collected edition of Mr. CALHOUN's Speeches. I have found it useful as a reference.

Mr. CALHOUN'S eloquence was of that highest order which baffles criticism. It was not the result of rules, and yet from it the highest rules may be derived. When intending to speak, his first aim was to make himself familiar with the details of his subject in all its bearings. His mind immediately discriminated between what was unimportant and what was essential to the merits of the case. Arrangement followed, placing everything in regular connection and sequence. If tropes and similes presented themselves, and could be gathered up without turning out of the way to reach them, he knew well enough how to weave them gracefully into the tissue of his discourse. The splendor of his thoughts, and the absence of all concealment and indirectness, imparted to his language a crystal clearness, which, whilst it could not be mistaken, was sure to attract and rivet attention. His tall erect person awakened interest as he arose to speak, and his brilliant eyes seemed to lend his thoughts the nimblest avenues into the hearts of his hearers. In him the tacit compact for truth, between a public orator and his hearers was religiously respected. "Never! Never! Never!" did the heart of the man suggest one thing and his language another. Making due allowance for the difference between ancient and modern manners, his whole image may be said to have been formed in the Roman mould by nature herself, for he was far above the servility of imitation. What the historian has recorded of the younger Cato, is as applicable to our illustrious statesman, as if it had been drawn from himself—"A man, as like as possible to virtue, and in everything more allied to a higher order of beings than to men, who never performed what was right, in order that he might be seen to do it, but because he could not act otherwise; to whom, also, that alone appeared reasonable which was sanctioned by justice; free from all human vices, he always remained the arbiter of his own fortune." *

During forty years the political fortunes of South Carolina might be said to have been embarked in the same vessel with Mr. CALHOUN. The voyage was prosperous and happy for both; exposed to no untoward storms, subject to no dangerous under-currents, and to the last

> "his mistress
> Did hold his eyes, lock'd in her crystal looks!"

In noticing the characters of public men, it is often necessary to take

* Homo virtuti simillimus, et per omnia ingenio Diis, quam hominibus proprior; qui nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat, cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet justitiam; omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit.—C. V. Paterculi: Lib. II., Cap. 35.

a distinction between their private and their public morals. It may well be a fresh source of consolation, amidst the tears which bedew the memory of our departed patriot, that in domestic life he has bequeathed an example to posterity in all respects worthy of imitation. His piety, his morality, his philanthropy, all the gentle yearnings of his nature, were without display; leading to the constant and conscientious performance even of the humblest duties,

"As ever in his great task-master's eye!"

No man could with more propriety adopt language such as that he used when closing a reply to an attack made upon him, by a generous but mistaken adversary: "I then transfer this and all my subsequent acts, including the present, to the tribunal of posterity, with a perfect confidence that nothing will be found in what I have said or done to impeach my integrity or understanding."

# PALMER'S DISCOURSE.

A Discourse on the occasion of the death of Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN. Delivered April 21, 1850, in the Presbyterian Church of Columbia, South Carolina, by B. M. PALMER, Pastor.

"This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men."—DAN. IV: 17.

Whenever public calamities befall a people, an irresistible impulse prompts the ready recognition of that Ordaining Power, without whose concurrence not even a sparrow falleth to the ground. The foundation of all religion lies in the belief of God's existence, and of His providential control in the government of the universe: "He that cometh unto God must believe that HE IS, and that HE IS A REWARDER of such as diligently seek Him." Hence, even among the nations that sit in darkness, who grope in the twilight of the religion of nature, or whose only guide are the distorted and traditional fragments of an original revelation, natural conscience gives a voice to the dispensations of Providence. Events, especially those of a painful nature, are supposed to contain intimations of the Divine will; and oracles are sought which shall infallibly interpret the meaning which is wrapt within these mysterious symbols. If the angel of death shakes pestilence from its baleful wing in its unseen flight over towns and cities; or if gaunt famine stalks through the land, snatching the scanty food from the mouths of famished multitudes; or if war, with his iron heel, leaves his track in blood and woe upon deserted homes and desolated hearths; Pagan altars at once smoke with bleeding victims, and costly hecatombs are offered to appease the anger of the deities, which flames out in such dire misfortunes. Nor is this to be set to the account of merely superstitious fears. The cruel and painful rites may, indeed, be those which superstition prompts; but the first spring of all must be found in the depths of that religious nature which is man's highest characteristic, and of which superstition itself is at once the corruption and the sign. It is the instinct of man's religious constitution, which, unbidden, seeks for the God who implanted it; it is the natural homage which reason, blinded as it is, pays to God and Providence; it is the mournful confession of

guilt and sin which the tortured conscience of the transgressor is compelled to make. But it is in a Christian country, upon which the light of divine truth has shined, where the character of God and the nature and perfection of his government are unfolded, and where men have been clearly taught the relations which they sustain to him who is their ruler as well as creator, that the fullest recognition of a superintending Providence is to be expected. Nor are we disappointed. When sudden affliction falls upon a Christian community, sending a common grief into many dwellings, the spontaneous impulses of the heart, quickened by the Spirit, and directed by the word of God, draw men together into the sanctuary, and bow them in a common worship at a common throne of grace. If a Christian nation bends beneath the weight of a general calamity, the universal sentiment of religion finds a voice when the chief magistrate summons us to the house of prayer. The hesitating sceptic who wastes his life in scrupulously weighing the evidence of Scripture in the ill-adjusted balance of his own warped and blinded reason, stands awed at the voice of God speaking in some startling judgment from "the clouds and darkness" that "are round about his throne." The philosopher who talks with a sneer of Providence, while he coolly discourses about second causes, and the uniform laws of nature, gives up for the moment his atheistic speculations, as a religious instinct occasionally reminds him that he who first ordained these laws must continually and directly administer them. Thus, in seasons of general distress, those whose religion does not rise above the level of mere theism—and it is for a lamentation that in a Christian land, especially among public men, there should be many such—these mingle with the devout followers of Jesus Christ, who own him as a Saviour from sin, and render a public homage to that God who is the author both of nature and of grace.

It is this religious sentiment which has drawn together this unusual assembly to-day. The nation has been bereaved; a great light has been extinguished—the voice of a wise and experienced counsellor has been hushed by death. Especially has the blow fallen upon *us*. The distinguished statesman, whose removal though late seemed yet to be premature, was the immediate representative of *our* wishes and of *our* opinions in the council chamber of the nation. He was the man of our pre-eminent choice in the present appalling juncture of our public affairs. His death, at all times a calamity to the whole republic, in the present crisis is felt to be a special affliction to that portion of this confederacy who looked with a confiding trust to his skill, to his experience, to his wisdom, and to his firmness, for a happy issue from our national embarrass-

ment. And the slumbering sentiment of religious dependence and obligation is suddenly awakened to a recognition of God in this dispensation of his providence. Therefore we are here: some few, perhaps, from an idle curiosity to learn how far the pulpit will venture upon political themes; but the great body of you, I am persuaded, from a sincere wish to give formal expression to the deep conviction of your hearts, that God reigns, and that his government should be acknowledged. I am not called, therefore, to waste breath with any who can see no special interposition of Heaven in the death of one who had already lived the usual term of human life, and whose enfeebled frame had long given no uncertain indications of approaching dissolution. There is an appointed time to all men upon the earth, and hence there are lessons to be deeply pondered when any are removed by God. But the times and circumstances of man's departure from life are frequently so ordered as to convey the most striking and solemn admonition to the living. This is emphatically true in the present case. It is not merely that one of the great men of this country is dead, that puts such gloom over your hearts—it is not merely that one whose wisdom and patriotism had for years been the boast of his State, that she is now dressed in the garments of mourning—it is that he died at such a time, when of all other periods he seemed to be most necessary to his country; this gives character to the event, and forces us to feel that God's hand is in it. My hearers, it is not to be concealed, and the pulpit may well now give utterance to the conviction, that we are, as a nation, in a most fearful and perilous crisis. The cords which, for three-fourths of a century, have bound together this growing and happy republic, are now strained to their utmost tension. Like a ship laboring in the storm, and suddenly grounded upon some treacherous shoal, every timber of this vast confederacy strains and groans under the pressure. Sectional jealousies, geographical divisions, the lust of political power, a bastard ambition which looks to personal aggrandizement rather than to the public weal, a reckless radicalism, which seeks for the subversion of all that is ancient and stable, and a furious fanaticism which drives on its ill-considered conclusions with utter disregard to the evils it engenders—all these combine to create a portentous crisis, the like of which was never know before, and which puts to a crucifying test the virtue, the patriotism, and the piety of the country.

To meet such a crisis, and to bear his country through it, no man seemed better fitted by character and by education than Mr. CALHOUN. With a comprehensiveness of mind capable of bringing all knowledge within his reach, with a power of analysis which sifted every subject to

the kernel, he had, for himself at least, reduced statesmanship to a science. His profound studies had gleaned from the pages of ancient history, and from the constitutions of other governments, principles which his sagacious mind enabled him to apply to all times and to all circumstances. With integrity of character which had stood unseduced amid the temptations of forty years of public service, and which the fœtid breath of calumny, in an age given to detraction and slander, had not attempted even to soil, his opinion carried with it the authority which it is the prerogative of none but an honest man to wield. With a self-reliance and a firmness growing alike out of the consciousness of his abilities and of his integrity, he was able, in a crisis like the present, to stand alone, and, like the cliff in the midst of the ocean, to breast the utmost fury of the storm. Apart from this general preparation for the high trust committed to him, he was particularly armed for the existing struggle. Probably it is not too much to say, that of all the Statesmen of this country he had most studied the question which now threatens to divide us into two hostile nations. He had examined it statistically, politically, and morally, and brought all the power of his mighty intellect to understand it in its bearings and relations. To the right adjustment of it he had summoned all his energies; every other question being to his mind absorbed in this. With almost prophetic foresight he had cast his eagle glance athwart separating years, anticipating the crisis which is now before us, and had concentrated upon this period the resources of his genius and the accumulated treasures of his knowledge. The crisis came. With his feeble body, and borrowing the voice of another, he stands for the last time in the hall of debate, and gives his final warnings to the country—intimates that within the grasp of his penetrating and philosophic mind lay a plan by which in future time the country might be saved from faction and strife—and then dies—dies, his last counsels never uttered;—the laboring secret still locked up in his own bosom! Is there no Providence in the removal of such a man, at such a juncture? The cold and cheerless philosophy which can regard it as a common event, happening by fate, and devoid of all moral significance, is a philosophy which freezes the affections and congeals the emotions of the soul. But the religion which recognises in it the voice of a Supreme Power, and which asks with solemnity the meaning of such a dispensation, sends a glow to the heart, and bows the soul with docility and reverence before the teachings of God.

If, my hearers, you are assembled under convictions of this kind, you will not desire from me empty panygeric of the great man whose death

we deplore; still more would it shock your religious sensibilities were I to canvass the political themes which at this time divide man from man. We bow together before the inspired oracles of God, and seek the interpretation of this event as conveying a divine message to ourselves. I answer, therefore, in the language of an inspired prophet, that "this matter is by the decree of the watchers, to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men."

Were I permitted to address the Congress of which our venerated statesman was a conspicuous member, I would deliver this message with emphasis to them. I would seek to remind them that government itself is an ordinance of God; that a special Providence was concerned in their election to rule a free and generous people; and that of necessity they must be held immediately responsible to God for their discharge of the solemn trust committed by him to them. As the veil is for a moment drawn aside which separates the throne of Jehovah from their view, I would echo the voice which seems to sound from that throne, "Give account of thy stewardship, for thou mayst no longer be steward." I would remind them that we all must "stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account of the deeds done in the body;" that they can never merge their personal responsibility as men in their public character as rulers and lawgivers; that for all their plans, both good and evil—for all their words, fitly or unfitly spoken—for all their thoughts, whether honorable or disgraceful to those who cherish them, they must distinctly answer to the great God in that great day when all shall be tried by a just and holy standard. I would warn them against that consuming ambition, which, directed only to selfish and personal ends, eats like a cancer into the soul, and soon obliterates the last traces of honor, generosity, and patriotism in the breasts of public men. I would dissuade them from that intense devotion to party which shuts the country out of view, and forestalls that conciliation and mutual concession, without which they can neither be statesmen nor patriots. I would rebuke that bitterness of language, which not only mars the force and dignity of debate, but generates a malignity of feeling leading often to scenes of violence and brutality which put the nation to the blush. It is a part of the inspired description of the wickedness of men, that "the poison of asps is under their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness." Above all, I would exhort them that the rulers of a Christian people should have regard to that divine law, whose precepts are obeyed, and whose sanctions are acknowledged, in every hamlet through this broad land. I would teach that as personal religion is the surest guarantee of private virtue, so a Christian statesman, who fears

God and loves his fellow-men, will be the wisest in counsel, and the safest trustee of the rights of others. But the responsibility of addressing such words to the dignitaries of our land is not devolved upon me. I must turn to those lessons which this melancholy occasion suggests as pertinent to ourselves. Taking this death as specially ordered by Heaven at this juncture to teach important truths of universal application, we will place ourselves under the guidance of the text for the right understanding of its solemn import: "This matter is to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men."

I. *We are then, in the first place, distinctly taught, in the difficulties which now environ us as a people, to place our confidence not in an arm of flesh, but in the wisdom, power, and goodness of God.*

The natural pride of the human mind always leads to overweening confidence in the resources of human wisdom and power. We are prone to content ourselves with a merely *speculative* recognition of a controlling Providence, and with this to satisfy the religious element of our nature, while we withhold that *practical* acknowledgment which the heart alone can give. It is but a dry inference of the understanding, a cold article of our creed, the mere dogma of our philosophy. It does not warm the heart; it does not inform the life, nor actuate the conduct; it does not nerve the strength in the hour of conflict, nor sustain the courage in the moment of darkness and defeat. Nothing but the profound conviction which comes forth from the hidden depths of the soul, and which is interwoven with all its emotions and secret thoughts, can ever shape the character of men, and influence their daily conduct. The effect of this practical atheism may often be traced in the disasters to which it leads. It provokes the Almighty to withdraw his protecting care, and to leave us for a season to the infatuation of our own counsels, if not, indeed, to chastise us with heavy strokes till his power and dominion are acknowledged. But laying out of view all Divine interposition, the natural influence of this practical atheism upon nations is most disastrous. In those trying emergencies which often arise, when human wisdom fails, when the passions of the multitude burst away from the control of those who have sought to inflame in order to use them, then reckless desperation succeeds by necessary re-action to this blind confidence. When human counsels cease to influence, and Divine counsels are not sought, what other result can there be, but that men should be borne headlong by the fury of their own passions, and riot for a season with the most entire abandonment of restraint. What is the history of revolutions and of civil wars but a commentary upon the atheism which does not practically recognise the presence of God nor the supreme authority of his law?

I have already alluded to the crisis now existing in our public affairs. This is not the place, nor am I the person, to describe its origin or to detail its progress. But in every aspect it is most fearful to contemplate. The question before us is simply that of national existence. There are, it seems to me, but three issues into which this crisis can possibly resolve itself. The first is the perpetuation of this Union as it now exists, under the shadow of the Constitution which our fathers framed for us; the second is the peaceful dismemberment of this great confederation, by the general consent of the whole; the third is the violent disruption of our political bonds amid scenes of blood and strife, from which the mind recoils with horror. As to the first of these, it is the issue for which we all ardently pray and sincerely labor. There is not one who has entertained the idea of the dissolution of this Union but as a last and most necessary resort, and there is not one who does not earnestly desire that such an alternative may, in the good providence of God, be forever averted. Yet I presume it is the most mature and settled conviction of all who live in this section of our land, that it is neither *possible* nor *desirable* to retain the name and the form of the Union, without the peace and friendship which it implies. It is not the *name* which we venerate, but the *reality* which it embodies. The most fearful schism may occur in organized bodies long before external and visible separation. The word Union is but a mockery and a lie, when bitter feuds and malignant hatred are the only terms of correspondence. I utter the sentiment with deep solemnity, I trust, under a suitable impression of the sanction which religion gives to whatever is uttered from this desk—that to the perpetuation of this Union the entire cessation of hostilities, and a return to plighted faith at the other end of these States, are of absolute necessity. If the demoralizing doctrine recently avowed is to obtain, that neither the sanction of an oath, nor the faith of written compacts, is to bind the conscience, then is the Union already and in fact dissolved. The Constitution, which is the formal bond of our Union, binds the States to reciprocal duties—it seeks to protect itself from infraction by the imposition of public and official oaths; yet if these obligations are recognised only to be the more profanely trampled under foot; if these oaths are taken expressly to be violated, then is the bond effectually destroyed which holds the confederacy together—the bond of faith and of common justice. So long as these outrageous sentiments were avowed and practised by a few individuals only in the public service, it was possible to bear them. This atrocity, so long as it remained the atrocity of individuals, could be met with that indignation with which a virtuous mind

must always regard falsehood and perjury. But in the present crisis the question can no longer be blinked, is this disorganizing principle to be endorsed, or is it to be formally and publicly disowned. It surely is not desirable that the Capitol shall be converted into the arena of strife and conflict, as during the present session of our Congress. It is not seemly that our Representatives should assemble from all parts of the land to be a mere spectacle of bull-baiting to the world. But who shall pluck the ship from the very mouth of the maelstrom, and roll back the eddying currents which create it? Who is able effectively and immediately to stop the tide of fanaticism which has swept us on to the very brink of destruction? Who is able to speak out in the storm which beats around us, and to say to all the raging elements, "Peace! be still!" verily, none but He who turns the hearts of men as the rivers of waters are turned. Our trust must be in God, who alone is able to create a speedy and happy re-action in the popular mind, and to bring the most violent and clamorous to a sense of justice and of right. My own conviction from the first has been that this would be the happy issue of our present troubles; that brought to the very edge of the precipice, and in the moment of our despair, we should see one of those sudden and auspicious revolutions in public sentiment, which a pious mind loves to ascribe, through secondary influences and agencies it may be, to the immediate and favorable intervention of the Divine Being. As Christian patriots, our appeal must now be to the friendship and protection of the God of Nations, in whom our fathers trusted, and who, we hope, will be the God of our children.

But let us turn to the other branch of the alternative, separation. We amuse ourselves with the hope of a quiet and peaceful secession; but it is an object of hope only because it is within the power of God to effect it; while nothing in the teachings of history, and no just inference from the character of men, can be produced to justify the expectation. What people sprung from a common ancestry, of our blood, having the same language, the same laws, and the same religion, enjoying a common inheritance of liberty and glory, ever separated without bloodshed into two rival nations? What boundaries shall divide us but the bitter animosities and feuds which lead to the separation? How shall the patrimony be divided to the satisfaction of both sections, so that new grounds of strife shall not grow out of the division itself? How can it be otherwise than that the strife which brings about the dissolution must be embittered by this consummating act? No! it is hoping against hope—it is hoping against all the admonitions of the past—against all the reasonable conclusions which can be drawn from

the present position of the country. Yet no one can deny that, in the providence of God, it is barely *possible*. There might be brought to pass such a combination of interests, such a connection of events, that this new thing might happen under the sun; and surely if this is to be the issue to which the controversy now pending must come, we have occasion most devoutly to put our trust in God, who alone can do that which all experience and reason teach to be well nigh impossible; certainly impossible to all human skill and foresight.

But suppose this strange result to be reached; all the memories of the past to be obliterated; our common ancestry forgotten; and a peaceful division of this vast domain of ours effected. What then? Shall two great confederacies be erected in friendly rivalry to each other? or shall there be more? or shall the disintegration be entire, and this nation, now one and mighty, be resolved into as many principalities as there are now States? Is this a day to enter upon the business of making constitutions and framing governments? Who shall hold back the flood which has already rolled over the European continent, overturning thrones and disorganizing empires? Is radicalism, which seeks change for the sake of change; and socialism, which breaks down all the partitions of society; and agrarianism, which levels all distinctions of fortune and birth—will these elements of agitation sleep, and not war upon us in the very commencement of the new experiments upon which we enter? The imagination sickens at the prospect of the accumulated dangers and evils which beset us the moment we are dismembered. Yet God is able to carry us through with success and triumph if it please Him. All nations before us have gone through a fearful and uncertain pupilage before they attained the robust strength of manhood.

In every aspect, the crisis before us throws us helpless and dependent upon Divine Providence. If the Union be preserved, a change in feeling and conduct must take place which no human power can effect. If it be destroyed, no wisdom but that from above can save us from fratricidal wars, or guide us successfully through the new dangers which threaten to devour. While, therefore, we use all prudence, and tax our own invention to the utmost, to meet the perils of the present moment, let those who believe in God, and in his control over human affairs, address him in faith. Christianity, which teaches us to love the Lord our God, which inculcates repentance for sin and faith in the Redeemer, teaches us also the love of country. And the same Father into whose bosom we pour our private cares, and whose mercy we sue in the pardon of individual sins, permits us to bring our interceding supplications in

behalf of the land which hath begotten us, and the country to whom we owe the reverence and affection of faithful children.

II. "That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men." *This teaches us to wait with patience the gradual workings of God's Providence, in silently and imperceptibly removing the evils which afflict society* It is instructive to observe the grandeur of the Divine schemes, and the silence and quietness with which they are conducted. A modern historian has forcibly observed that "to achieve great results by imperceptible means is the law of the Divine dealings. The little seed, which the new-born infant may clasp in its feeble hand, he deposits in the bosom of the earth, and from that seed, imperceptible in its beginning, he produces the majestic tree, under whose spreading boughs the families of men may find shelter." Knowing his own power, which is infinite, and his own wisdom, which is unfathomable, the Most High can afford to be patient. He projects his plans upon a scale that overwhelms our finite conceptions with their vastness. He bears with generations of transgressors. He allows stupendous evils to exist and to be perpetuated, which he could remove at a word. Meanwhile he puts into exercise moral causes, which slowly and surely, but imperceptibly and quietly, work out their extirpation; and he waits through ages for their sublime but uniform operations. How long has he borne with the idolatry of the nations, though it robs Him of that glory which he, with so much jealousy, claims for himself? How long has he tolerated polygamy, though in flat contradiction to the fundamental law of marriage, and subversive of the family constitution? How long has he tolerated the reign of despots, when by a blow of his sceptre he could emancipate the nations? He suffers one to be steeped to the lips in poverty, while his neighbor abuses his wealth in revelry and riot. He suffers one to be immersed in ignorance and mental darkness, while another prodigally wastes the opportunities of knowledge and improvement. Yet these things shall not always be. He has set his Gospel upon the earth to regenerate and elevate mankind. He diffuses slowly the blessings of civilization and knowledge, till they shall cover the globe, and saves a suffering world from despair, by the promise of the day when righteousness and peace, and love shall reign upon earth, and oppression, injustice, and hatred shall belong only to the past. Contrast now with this the hot impatience of the creature, man. He sits down, and with the measures of his scanty knowledge, forms plans which he calls perfect; then change follows hard upon change as experience suggests improvements, till at length, fretful and peevish through disappointment, he dashes to pieces the work of his own hands.

If this were confined to his own works, it were well. But with self-sufficiency he arrogates to amend the works of God. He quarrels with the slowness of Divine Providence. While God is patient with man, man is utterly impatient with God. Self-constituted reformers arise, and demand that at once the evils of society be corrected, or the whole must be made a wreck. The sun must be stricken from the heavens if a spot be found upon his disk, and the stars be swept from the sky if their courses be erratic.

I dwell upon this, because it appears to me the great error which has plunged many religious and conscientious men into the abyss of fanaticism, and has largely contributed to produce the present alarming crisis in our national councils. Evils are supposed to exist in our midst. We will not debate how far this opinion is just. Be it so, that great and pressing evils do exist in the government which is constituted over us. But these persons forget the law of Providence, which works out the amelioration of society and the advancement of mankind by moral causes, as silent as they are potent. They rush headlong in a career of reform, forgetful of other duties, and trampling upon other obligations as sacred as any which can bind the conscience. How far they are incompetent to assume the control of Providence, and to quicken the activity of Jehovah, will appear from a single consideration. In the imperfect state of human society it pleases God to allow many evils, which yet serve as checks to others which are still greater. As in the physical world objects are not moved forward by a single force, but by the composition of forces, so in his moral administration, there are checks and balances, the relations of all which are comprehended only by himself. Many things which in themselves considered are absolutely evil, do yet in their relations work out a good otherwise unattainable, and ward off dangers otherwise inevitable. But all self-sufficient reformers, working out the single idea which rides them like a nightmare, dash forward, not regarding or comprehending the delicate mechanism of Providence; which moves on, wheel within wheel, with pivots and balances and springs, which the great designer alone can control. These fierce zealots, who undertake to drive the Chariot of the Sun, dash athwart the spheres, and throw the universe into confusion, that they may have a straight path for the race.

It is time to reproduce the obsolete idea that Providence must govern man, and not that man should control Providence. Evils, that are inwrought into the very frame-work of society must be borne by man, so long as they are tolerated by God. We are not to legislate for Him who "does according to his pleasure among the armies of Heaven and

among the inhabitants of Earth." The most High ruleth in the kingdom of men; but the question with the wild agitators of our day is, whether he *shall* rule, seeing he is so slow to rule, in their judgment, right. The radicalism so rampant in our days, which wars against constitutions and laws and compacts—against Sabbaths and sanctuaries—against the family, the State and the church—is a blasphemous assumption of God's jurisdiction. It profanely rebukes the most High for errors in His administration—it seeks to snatch the reins of empire from Him who has established His throne in righteousness and judgment. And since it cannot rule God, would lay the universe in ruins at his feet. I confess that one ground of my hope that God will bring speedy deliverence to our suffering country, is, that he may thereby rebuke the pride and arrogance and profaneness of those who have brought this crisis upon us, in their mad attempt to usurp his high prerogatives.

III. *This truth, that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, teaches also that as by individuals, so by nations, God has high and solemn purposes to accomplish through each; and the business of all is to learn and do their mission.*

Dr. Croly has ventured to assert that "England was chosen for the especial guardianship of Christianity." So far as Protestantism is concerned, he maintains the proposition by a remarkable induction of facts. "It is a striking circumstance," he goes on to say, "that since the Reformation, every reign of Popish tendency has been followed by one purely Protestant; and these alternate reigns have not offered a stronger contrast in their principles than in their public fortunes." The vigorous reign of the Eighth Henry was followed by the bloody and cruel reign of Mary, who "left a dilapidated kingdom—a nation worn out with disaster and debt." Elizabeth succeeded, and "her conquering sign was Protestantism." After a long reign, styled England's Augustan Age, she left it the queen over Europe. Charles the First was at heart a Papist; and, after a long and disgraceful conflict with his own subjects, he lost his kingdom and his head upon the block. Cromwell, in the brief and troubled period of his dictatorship, "lifted England again to her feet," and "made the name of Englishmen as honored as was that of an ancient Roman." The Second Charles and the Second James were still more violent apostates from the cause of truth, and the house of Stuarts was expelled the throne. We will not stop to ask whether these striking facts fully justify the application which is made of them; but of the abstract principle, that God has a trust for nations as for persons, and that they prosper or

decline in accordance with their own fidelity, there can be no doubt whatever. If the Old Testament history, where the prophet stands side by side with the historian, does not establish this truth, it infers no truth whatever. The mighty empire of Egypt was the cradle in which the infant Jewish nation was rocked and reared to maturity; the Canaanites held the Promised Land only so long as the Jews were under pupilage, and at the set time they gave it up to the descendants of the faithful Abraham; the Assyrians were raised up to be a scourge in God's hands, with which he chastised the folly and wickedness of Israel, and in due season the empire passed over to the Persian, that he might knock the fetters from captive Judah and let the prisoner go free; the Grecian and Roman conquests paved the way for the final overthrow of Judaism and for the propagation of Christianity; when the time came for "the sceptre to depart from Judah and a lawgiver from between his feet," then "the eagles were gathered together" over the carcase, and Jerusalem was wiped out and turned over as a dish. In a word, all the great empires of antiquity are seen to revolve around that small, but important, nation chosen to bear upon its bosom the immortal Church of God. All history may be viewed in two lights: as the record of human actions, and as the development of God's purposes. An intelligent reader should peruse every page first downwards, and then upwards; first tracing the thread of events, and then unfolding the plans of God in those events. History interpreted is Providence expounded. Without the former, Providence is only a blind mystery; without the latter, history is a mere fable—they are two parts of the same subject—two aspects of the same truth—each is an enigma without the other. History is the delineation of Providence; Providence is the interpretation of history; and though no inspired interpretation accompanies the events of modern times, the same God rules now as then—the same church lives now as then, to which kingdoms and empires are tributary—and the same great principle obtains, that nations have their destinies assigned in their connexion with this Kingdom of the Redeemer. Why else is England suffered to push her dominions far into India? Why else is she permitted to thunder with her cannon against the Chinese wall?

If we attend too to the origin and progress of our own history, we shall be at no loss for a clue to the mission upon which we are sent as a nation. As one has remarked, "God sifted three nations to sow this continent with a good seed." The Church of Christ first took possession of these shores, and claimed here a home. The principles upon which our independence was successfully maintained, and the remarkable

interposition of God in our behalf, reveal the commission which God gives to us as a people. Already in great measure have we wrought out a problem, for which no nation under the heavens was adequate: the entire separation of the civil and the ecclesiastical power; and we realize to the world the great idea of a Christian nation which yet does not seek to bring the church in bondage. A great destiny lies before us, if we are equal to its achievement. It is certain that before the lapse of many years, in the ordinary workings of Providence, our habits, our laws, our institutions, and our religion must be planted upon every foot of this entire continent. Already are we familiar with the idea of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific waters, and becoming thus the highway of the nations; already do we talk of sending our ships from the eastern and the western coast alike, plowing the waves of the Pacific, and sending eastward and westward the knowledge, the civilization, and the religion with which we are blessed. From the bosom of a Christian nation the Church of the Redeemer has sent forth her heralds to Asia, to Africa, to the isles of the sea; and thus, under His mediatorial reign, does he use this nation and this country to advance the glories of His kingdom, which is an everlasting kingdom, and to establish his dominion, which is to be "from the river to the ends of the earth." Let it be written then upon our banners that we are *a Christian nation*—that we fear God and respect his law. Let His Sabbaths be honored, and drunkenness and profaneness driven from our borders. Let our rulers and statesmen admit and practise upon the truth that the Bible, and the religion of the Bible, have made this nation what it is. Above all, let the Church of Christ in this country be steady and growing in her zeal to extend the gospel through all the earth—then we are safe for many good years to come; let whatever issues arise, let whatever danger threaten, with the Bible and Christianity for our foundation, our political prosperity will be as firm as the granite beneath our mountains. The loss of great men in trying seasons may well teach us these important lessons. When the props we have made for ourselves are stricken away, it is wise to say, with one of old, "Ashur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses; neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, ye are our gods: but in thee the fatherless findeth mercy."

# WHYTE'S EULOGY.

Delivered by the Rev. Archibald Whyte, at Yorkville, S. C., June 3, 1850. Published by Request of the Committee of Arrangements.

From history, both sacred and profane, we learn that from a very early period men were accustomed to pay a tribute of respect to departed worth. The practice extended from the Hebrew to surrounding nations, and has descended to us as a time-honored custom. Our nation has been smitten in the person of one whose fame was bounded by no empire or clime; and we meet to testify in the most public and impressive manner, our regard for the virtues, our gratitude for the services, and our sorrow for the loss of a citizen so excellent and so beloved. The wide Atlantic and the boundless Pacific roll the tide of grief to distant shores; and the sons of freedom, and of civilization, in every part of the habitable globe, unite in grief, and mingle their lamentations with those of our bereaved countrymen. Your partiality has imposed upon me the duty of tracing the life and delineating the character of him whom in life we held dear, and whose mysterious removal at such an important crisis, we all deplore. The eloquent and martyred Emmett, at a period of life the most portentous and solemn, exclaimed—"A man dies, but his memory lives. Let no man write my epitaph." The history of the world, and the knowledge of human nature, admonish us to tread lightly on occasions so solemn and affecting, and withal, so recent.

In Abbeville, one of the upper Districts of South Carolina, not far from the track of advancing and retreating armies during the Revolution, on the 18th March, 1782, was born John Caldwell Calhoun. The tide of emigration which set in from Pennsylvania to Middle and Western Virginia, after Braddock's defeat, turned South to the Carolinas. A few years sufficed to throw in a vast amount of population, some stopping on the banks of the Eno, on the Yadkin, and on the Savannas of the Catawba, and some moving on beyond the Broad, the Enoree, and the Saluda.

In the advance of these, and nearly a century since, was Patrick Calhoun, the father of John C. Calhoun, who has filled the full measure of his country's glory, devoting the brightest intellect to her in-

terests; not like the meteor, blazing for a moment, and then shrouded in darkness, but like the full-orbed luminary which continues to blaze and illuminate all around. The pioneers in those days, while they scattered the seed with one hand, like the Jews of old, in re-building the walls of Jerusalem, were compelled to carry the weapons of defence in the other. The savage foe roamed unmolested, and their midnight yells awakened in the bosoms of the early settlers, the gloomiest apprehensions. They had scarcely recovered from the alarm which followed the disaster at Fort DuQuesne, the terrific cry of the savage sounding in their ears and following their path; and now, when congratulating themselves upon their escape, they were again in the midst of dangers. The Cherokees, unlike the Catawbas, were a restless and a savage race, and often involved the early settlers in fierce and bloody struggles.

The father of our lamented statesman was appointed by the Provincial Government to the command of a body of Rangers, for the defence of the frontiers. When the Revolution broke out, they had not only Indians to fight, but tories among themselves; they were as cruel as the untamed savage, and no less treacherous; they dogged the footsteps of the American patriot, entered his premises, drove off women and children, burnt their houses, and destroyed their effects. Enjoying as we do, privileges so enlarged and liberal, we can scarcely realize the sufferings of our revolutionary ancestors.

In 1770, Patrick Calhoun married Miss Caldwell, of Charlotte County, Virginia, and died in 1796, leaving, among other children, JOHN CALDWELL, then thirteen years old, since, "clarum et venerabile nomen." Both father and mother appears to have been impressed with the importance of instilling Divine principles into the minds of their children. The seed thus early sown took root, and in subsequent years yielded fruit. The subject of our notice, like Lemuel, never forgot the lesson his mother taught him, and exhibited in his life the truth of the declaration—"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Under many disadvantages, he pursued and completed his Academical studies, and finally graduated at Yale College, in 1804, with the reputation of being an accomplished and elegant classical scholar; and inspiring his preceptors with high anticipations of his becoming distinguished in life. On his return from College, Mr. CALHOUN entered himself for a time as a student of law, in the office of the late Chancellor DeSaussure, and finally completed his course at the celebrated Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut. Returning to his native State about the year 1806, he commenced the practice of law in Abbeville District, taking rank from the outset among

the most eminent lawyers of his circuit. About this time the difficulties between the General Government and Great Britain began to assume a serious aspect. The Chesapeake had been attacked off the coast of the United States, boarded, and four of her seamen removed; this added to the refusal of Great Britain to surrender certain posts, her claiming a right to search all ships navigating the ocean, and her long efforts to cripple American commerce, inflamed in a high degree the public mind. Mr. CALHOUN addressed his fellow-citizens on these stirring topics, and was returned a member to the Legislature, where he gave strong indications of that political foresight and sagacity by which his subsequent life was so strongly marked. The dawn of intellect in this his first public exhibition as a representative and statesman, exhibited much of the terse, concise, and condensed style by which his efforts in more mature, as well as in advanced life, were characterized. He was soon transferred from the State Legislature to the House of Representatives of the United States, where, on the 4th of November, 1811, he first took his seat; from this time till the day of his death, his life belongs to history.

Entering the House with some little experience, acquired at home, and with some reputation which had preceded him, he was at once brought into contact with the master spirits of the age. Perhaps at no period in the history of our country were there congregated so many able, experienced, and sagacious representatives. The whole country was in a state of excitement and ferment, and the respective parties were led off by distinguished and eloquent leaders, who were marshalling their hosts for the conflict. The storm which for years had been gathering, was ready to burst forth. Inspired by a love of country, and prompted by the voice of constituents, which was ever heard with reverence, he had repaired to the seat of Government, and at a time by no means the least eventful. It was a period in the history of our country in which he and other patriotic citizens felt it their indispensable duty to lay aside all party prejudices, and to be actuated only by such motives as coincided with individual justice, and the greatest general good, and to pursue those measures which were likely to be productive of public and private virtue, without which the inestimable blessings of a free government cannot long exist.

The country had suffered much by the unjust policy of the belligerent powers of Europe. Great Britain did not seem inclined to relinquish her orders in council, surrender up our impressed seamen, or even permit us "to enjoy the common and legal rights of a neutral nation." The political divisions in the United States were productive of the most

unhappy consequences. Party spirit ran so high as not only to prevent an amicable settlement of these difficulties, but actually encouraged depredations upon property, and attempts to excite one part of the confederacy against another. Unreasonable and unfounded jealousies existed, and it became a matter of the highest magnitude to overcome these dangerous evils. Mr. CALHOUN was placed on the Committee of Foreign Relations, second to Gen. Porter, of New York, having for colleagues, John Randolph, Judge Grundy, Smilie, Harper, Key, and others. Here in Committee and in the House, he had to contend with the brilliant, sarcastic, and eccentric Randolph, who led off in opposition to the administration of Mr. Madison. And it need not be concealed, for it is no disparagement to the reputation of the pure, unspotted, and indefatigable Executive, that owing to well grounded fears, and distrust of the readiness of the country, to come up to the support of his measures, there was some indication of vacillation.

Prudence forbade extreme measures, when there was just ground of apprehension that they would lead to distraction. It devolved in a great measure upon the Committee of Foreign Relations to prepare Congress for war. Mr. Randolph, a ready and skilful debater, threw all his influence into the scale, with a view to bear down war measures. It was at this time Mr. CALHOUN obtained a celebrated victory over this able champion and interesting debater. Without submitting a motion, he attempted a long and able argument, when he was called to order; the House sustained the call, a reference to which has recently been had in the Senate of the United States. Mr. Randolph then addressed his celebrated letter to his constituents, complaining of the abridgement of his rights, and declaring that a war with England comported neither with the interest nor honor of the American people, "but was an idolatrous sacrifice of both, on the altar of French rapacity, perfidy, and ambition."

In these frequent encounters, the Committee owed much to the seasonable aid brought by members of the House, but to none more than to the eloquent and chivalrous Kentuckian, then speaker, who on the recent melancholy occasion, joined in the universal grief, and nobly bore testimony to the eminent abilities, the stern integrity, and great worth, both public and private, of Carolina's favorite son.

The classical attainments and the finished education of Mr. Randolph rendered him a strong, powerful, and instructive debater, and few were able to meet him in this department. With a rich patrimonial inheritance, he received all the instruction which the wisest masters of the age could impart. Mr. Clay, on the other hand, having few resources,

was less indebted to the masters of the age, but more dependent upon himself. Naturally eloquent and courteous, generous and impulsive, with a voice as melodious as that of Melpomene herself, with intonations the most fascinating and enrapturing, and burning with zeal for the honor of his country, he stept into the arena on all occasions, and brought his powerful influence to bear upon the subject matter of dispute; with the gallantry of the Chevalier Bayard, he bore down upon the strongest man of the age. And his efforts, united to those of the ingenious and dexterous Grundy, the sagacious and honest CALHOUN, and the manly and strong-headed Porter, determined the tide of popular opinion, confirmed the wavering, exposed the sophistry and rendered powerless the exertions of the opposition. Matters being fully ripe after the passage of the Embargo Act, Gen. Porter retired from Congress, and Mr. CALHOUN, about his third decade, succeeded to his position; as Chairman of the Committee, it devolved upon him to draw up the report and declaration of war. The history of the difficulties between the two Governments is lucid and succinct—the general principles on the subject of blockades, such as have been appealed to in later times; and the whole performance so able, that the Act accompanying it was adopted by a vote of 79 to 49. The Declaration of War took by surprise many on both sides of the Atlantic. The court papers at St. James' ridiculed the idea of a war, tauntingly reminded the world that the politics of "America were remarkably *stationary*," and that the government of the United States "were always trembling and hesitating on the slippery verge of war." Papers in our own country joined in the ridicule, and in view of the general apathy declared, "that either the Government was false and hypocritical, or the people out of their senses." The appeal to arms, however, was made, and terminated more brilliantly and successfully than the most sanguine had any reason to expect. The war having terminated, the country was involved in overwhelming debt. In this state of affairs, the wisdom and patriotism of Mr. CALHOUN shone forth conspicuously; and his noble disinterestedness triumphed. He united in those plans which seemed best calculated to relieve the general embarrassment, and insure the advantage of the many, notwithstanding it bore heavily on the section of country with which he was more immediately identified. The plans for the payment of the public debt, and for resuscitating the energies of the country, which had been crippled during the war, being adjusted, the way appeared open for retiring to private life, to follow those pursuits which were so congenial to his nature. The most eminent among mankind have yielded to rural attractions. In our country, we find Wash-

ington, at every interval, hastening to Mount Vernon to mingle in agricultural pursuits; we find the sages of Monticello and of Montpelier delighting in their estates; the heroes of Tippecanoe and of New Orleans cultivating the soil; the eloquent orator of Ashland enraptured with his farm; and the great exponent of national and constitutional law, retreating on every occasion to his own Marshfield. As Washington, so often as opportunity offered, hastened to Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, so did Mr. CALHOUN hasten to Fort Hill, on the banks of his own Seneca. But the place which he occupied on the Committee of Foreign Relations had brought him frequently into contact with the Department of War. This was found to be utterly unsuited to the exigency of the times. The energy displayed in providing the means and appliances for prosecuting the war, pointed him out as one well qualified to fill that Department; consequently, when Mr. Monroe was elected President, his services were called into requisition. He accepted the appointment, and did not disappoint the expectations of the Executive. Giving his powerful mind to the task, he reduced the Department from a state of chaos and confusion to neatness and order. At the canvass of 1824, he was elected Vice President, which office he discharged with great dignity, urbanity, and firmness. Before the expiration of the second term, a controversy had arisen between the Federal Government and his native State; it was supposed he could serve the interests of his State more efficiently upon the floor of the Senate than in the chair. He accordingly resigned his office as Vice President of the United States, and was returned by the Legislature a Member of the Senate. The history of the times being fresh in the minds of the community, and many of the prominent actors being yet on the stage of public life, and the questions involved being questions of a delicate nature, it might appear invidious to speak very particularly of this period of his life. Suffice it to say, that with his usual fearlessness and frankness he met every question, and that every subject which came under review received the impress of his strong and vigorous mind. He continued to devote his time and talents to the service of his country in the Senate of the United States, bearing a conspicuous part in all the questions which agitated the country until 1842, when he apprised the Legislature of South Carolina of his determination to retire to private life after the 4th of March ensuing. At the same time the eloquent Preston sent in his resignation, to take effect forthwith. Agreeably to his determination, Mr. CALHOUN, at the expiration of the time which he had set, retired to Fort Hill, his residence in Pendleton.

Twelve months had elapsed when the office of Secretary of State became vacant by the melancholy death of Judge Upshur. The condition of our Foreign Affairs, particularly with Great Britain, was highly delicate; Mr. Webster, after the settlement of the north-eastern boundary question, voluntarily retired from the Department of State.

All eyes were turned to Mr. CALHOUN. A spontaneous call went up from all sections of the country, north, south, east, and west; and without his knowledge, or application on the part of his friends, the President nominated him to the post, and the Senate unanimously, without the formality of sending to a Committee, and without a moment's delay, confirmed the nomination, a compliment well deserved, however unusual. This was a concession to sterling integrity, eminent ability, and exalted capacity, of which any man might be proud. It is needless to say *how* the duties were discharged farther than that it was to the entire satisfaction of the country. At the change of Administration he again retired to private life, but was forthwith called again to the Senate of the United States, where his services were once more required in adjusting the difficulties which had sprung up, by agitating the Oregon question. His prudent counsels, added to those of other patriotic Senators, prevailed, and the difficult and delicate question was finally settled without a resort to war.

When Secretary of State, by a bold and dashing move, he prevented the European powers from gaining a foothold upon the soil of Texas; and his unwillingness to disturb the arrangement which had been entered into in regard to the occupancy of Oregon, until, in the lapse of time, the country would have been peopled with emigrants, was admirably calculated to secure the entire control of that territory, without disturbing to any great extent the amicable relations subsisting between the two Governments.

His views with regard to Mexico were not carried out, and events have shown that the difficulties which he predicted would rise out of it, have all been realized. What influence he might have had in their adjustment, must forever remain a secret to man. In the midst of these, at the close of a long and brilliant career, his spirit winged its flight to other mansions. On the 31st March, 1850, on the morning of the Lord's Day, with a mind serene and an intellect unclouded, his eyes closed upon all sublunary objects. God of mercy! prepare each one of us for our latter end. The news sped forth with telegraphic dispatch, from Washington as the centre (as the blood from the heart) to the North, the South, and the West, and the return dispatches brought back the echoes of wailing and of lamentation. Since the death of

Washington, no event of a similar nature created so great a sensation; business at the metropolis, and all portions of the country, was suspended, and every outward and becoming manifestation of grief and sorrow was exhibited. The hand of the Almighty Governor of the Universe was seen and felt; "and when the judgments of God are abroad in the land, it becomes the inhabitants of the earth to learn righteousness." It becomes a people to bow in reverence to the fiat of the Almighty, and to acknowledge the supremacy of Him "whose ways are not as our ways." When the patriarch Jacob was gathered to his fathers, the Egyptians mourned for him seventy days, and "the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and the elders of the land attended his burial; and when Joseph, the prime minister of Egypt died, the physicians embalmed him, and prepared his remains for the last solemn rites. David and his men mourned over the untimely death of Saul and Jonathan. He wept sore at the fate of his gallant captain, and pronounced over him this beautiful and heart-touching eulogy, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" The death of our distinguished Senator and eminent statesman, will be proclaimed through the civilized world. The influence of his character, when living, was not confined to one continent or one hemisphere, but was felt through all Europe, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, from the pillars of Hercules to the Dardanelles. His worth has been acknowledged by the different powers on the continent, and by the sea-girt isles. By that power "the sound of whose morning drum encircles the earth, and upon whose flag the sun never sets," as well as by that Imperial Government whose subject since the days of Catherine have been accustomed to read the inscription upon the finger-post which is erected, "this is the road to Constantinople,"

> "What man is he that liveth here,
> And death shall never see,
> Or from the power of the grave
> What man his soul shall free?"

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

From the remarks submitted, which of necessity have been few, it may be readily seen that Mr. CALHOUN was distinguished, 1. For deep originality of thought and fearless independence of mind. Those who were at all versant with his character and intellect, will readily concede that he was no servile imitator, and that he relied much upon

self, that is, while on the one hand he was not presumptuous, so on the other he was free from that infirmity which depresses with melancholy thoughts, and disqualifies for happiness, and for the business of life. It is also conceded that he had a rare quickness of perception. On certain occasions he was greatly misunderstood; and this mistake was quite natural, on account of his being so far in advance of the age. The conciseness of his style, the close argument which he sustained, his logical deductions rather than illustrations, and his total avoidance of prolixity, as well as his being in advance of the times, all had their influence. His far extended vision, his rapid and lofty flights, secured him a place among the great, though they subjected him on certain occasions to be misunderstood. The quickness with which he could ascertain his object, and discover the road to it, was fully commensurate with his perseverance and boldness in pursuing it. With a mind fertile in resources, a courage which nothing could daunt, and a genius bounding over obstacles raised by ordinary men, he was lost in grandeur and sublimity to those of a contracted sphere. But when his views were explained, every one was taken by surprise, felt that they were perfectly natural, and wondered why he had never thought of them before. If to quickness of apprehension and resources of information, there be added profound sagacity, unshaken steadiness of purpose, the entire subjugation of all the passions which "carry havoc through ordinary minds, and oftentimes lay waste the fairest prospects of greatness," and if these things constitute a great character, then was our departed statesman great.

2. Another characteristic was simplicity and energy of style. Though all admit he was a speaker of varied attainments, yet there was no effort to pour forth high sounding words of vanity, nor studied rhetorical flourishes for effect. The chief difficulty which a hearer had to encounter, was to follow the logical train of reasoning and keep pace with the rapid enunciation. Too many words, and too much illustration, have often the same effect as excessive brevity, sometimes too much brevity, which is always hurtful. But, notwithstanding the enunciation was rapid, the illustration brief, and the sentences short and comprehensive, the words were well selected to please the ear, and the diction pure, harmonizing with the idiom of our language.

In his best efforts, we see exhibited purity, propriety and precision in the choice of words, and in their collocation clearness, unity and strength, and the proper application of figures when necessity required their use. The intellect, with age, did not grow dim, but apparently increased in brightness. It has been conceded by the cotemporaries of

Mr. CALHOUN, by those who acted upon the same stage, that he usually repressed rather than encouraged the luxuriance and strength of imagination. It was said of Burke, that his "fancy became more vivid, and burnt, as it were, brighter before its extinction." This was probably true of the statesman whose removal we lament. His last great effort showed the activity of a mind restless and brilliant, and his last encounter in debate, when the physical man was broken down, showed that there was still the fire of intellect which burnt brighter if possible, and which neither time nor age had quenched.

3. A distinguished trait in the character of Mr. CALHOUN, was a determination faithfully to discharge his duties without regard to consequences. His ambition was to place himself in the situation in which he could do most good, not disdaining a generous rivalry. Immoderate and unbridled ambition has caused much misery in the world. But ambition controlled by benevolence, and love of justice, is innocent, desirable and beneficial, and is apt to spring up in noble minds. Avarice is an unnatural passion that disgraces and debases the soul, and seldom fails to "eradicate every generous principle and kind affection;" it impairs the understanding and controls the genius. Unnatural passions bring with them a train of evils, and punish those whom they have enslaved. But a generous rivalship takes away nothing that belongs to others; it merely impels its possessor to be equal or superior to others. Enmity and envy are marks of a little mind, but emulation, without mixture of malice or envy, is a noble principle of action, and a powerful incitement to the acquisition of excellence.

The Senators, (Clay and Webster,) who knew him long and knew him best, unite in bearing testimony to his public and private worth—his oneness of purpose, ardent patriotism, and unbending integrity. Says one, (Mr. Webster,) after an acquaintance of thirty-seven years, and whom he had often encountered in debate: "His was the elevated character, resulting from unspotted integrity and unimpeached honor; if he had aspirations, they were high, and honorable, and noble, there was nothing grovelling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the public, I do not believe that he was imbued with a selfish feeling." The testimony of the other senator, who had known him longer, and the author of the noble sentiment, "I had rather be *right* than President of the United States," was, if possible, still more pointed

and specific. Was it office or elevation which he coveted? With the knowledge which he had of human nature and with a genius soaring among the loftiest, he could have reached the goal, had this been his object. He had only to spread the sails to catch the popular breeze, which would have wafted him to any port. Being cast in nature's largest mould, he was designed for a leader, not so much of the masses, as of the intelligent and intellectual. In sentiment, in style and oratory, he was no servile imitator, nor did he follow in the wake of any distinguished political leader. Superior to the petty objects of a grovelling ambition, he broke thro' party ties and personal considerations, disregarding alike the frowns and enchantments of power, popular applause, and selfish aggrandizement. "I am content" says he, "to do my duty without looking farther." His sense of right, his singleness of purpose, and his determination never for self-advancement to swerve from the path of duty, called down upon himself the influence of those in power, exposed him to the rudest shocks of popular indignation, and prevented him from occupying the highest post of honor, which might have been his, had this been his chief object. It was his fortune to be wilfully misrepresented, as well as innocently misunderstood; he was not exempt from the fate of all public prominent men. Politicians of limited range, sectional and selfish, for the sake of popularity in their respective localities, represented him as actuated by inordinate ambition, as having for a quarter of a century advocated every scheme which promised the extension of slavery, when it is a well known fact that he and others of the same political school opposed with the utmost vehemence the acquisition of territory.

But now that he is longer a public man, history will do justice to his fame. The re-action has already commenced. The glowing testimony of Gov. Fish, of New York; the noble resolutions passed by the Legislature of that great and patriotic State, and the records of the Historical Society; alike honorable to all concerned, give indubitable proof, that justice will yet be done the head and heart of Mr. CALHOUN.

4. Mr. CALHOUN was distinguished for methodical habits, and diligence in the improvement of time. Without this, he could not have accomplished so much, and performed what he did so well. Averse to all sensual indulgencies, he husbanded precious time, which is too often wasted or thrown away by men in public stations. In a choice and well selected library he spent one portion of time, on his farm another, and closed the day in the family circle. Giving to every duty its appropriate time, he found leisure, where others less methodical and with less to do, were hurried to and fro. The beautiful tribute paid to his

domestic virtues by his early associate and eloquent compeer in the Senate of the United States, was doubtless well merited.

5. He was plain and unostentatious in his manners and mode of living. While hospitable to strangers, who were ever welcome to his home, he was frugal in his own personal expenses. Temperate and abstemious almost to a proverb, he knew nothing of the cravings of the voluptuary. Without fortune and without family influence, he was thrown upon his own resources, and upon these did he rely, not upon external appliances by which many are pushed forward.

6. He was distinguished for kindness and urbanity of disposition. Free and sociable with his friends, affable and kind to the young, having no desire to hold intercourse where he could not receive or impart happiness.

7. Finally, he was a character of rare purity in all the departments of life. In an age of detraction, and when political calumnies were rife, he was spared the charge of immorality in conduct. An orphan at an early age, and exposed to the temptations of public life at an early period, it is somewhat remarkable that he was not seduced from the paths of virtue. It is a blessed privilege to be descended of pious covenanting ancestors. "Ye are the children of the covenant, which God made with our fathers." A few reflections and I shall close. As a nation and people we enjoy distinguished privileges. The chosen people of God were reminded again and again of what their Divine leader had done for them. They were delivered from Egypt by miracles, and signs, in *mercy* to *them* and in *judgment* to their *enemies.* Nations must be driven out before them, to make room for their settlement in Canaan. The waves of the Red sea must be rolled back, and the waters of Jordan dried up to make room for them to pass. The elements of nature, and the very stars of Heaven are called into requisition when their interests are concerned; and they were often admonished to remember what they had been. Moses but a short time before the close of his eventful life, speaks to them in language the most solemn and impressive. "The Lord hath taken you and brought you forth out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance." The last words and actions of a departing friend, are usually regarded with peculiar interest. The effect which they produce is more permanent and abiding, the impression more lasting and indelible. Moses, the leader of Israel, had suffered opposition and resistance during his administration; and having his meek and quiet spirit greatly excited by a stiff-necked and rebellious people, he was now about to be translated to that happy abode, "where the

wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." But before surrendering up his charge, and leaving the people with whom he had been associated as a leader for forty years, he takes occasion to stir up their minds by way of remembrance, tells them they had been bond men, and that the Most High had taken them and brought them forth from the iron furnace. And we, as a nation highly distinguished and enjoying peculiar privileges, are called in the most solemn manner to glorify God, to remember the iron furnace out of which we have been brought, and to remember that we are to be an inheritance. Look back to the period when the first settlers of America fled from oppression in the old world, and pitched their tents on the shores of the new, for liberty of conscience. They brought with them the genius and spirit of liberty, which have descended from father to son, and have been transmitted from generation to generation. Is it too much in a day of general declension and forgetfulness of God, to remind you, that to covenanting reforming ancestors, are we greatly indebted for these privileges? They were the pioneers of liberty, civil and religious, and to them may be traced the spirit of American liberty. Their love of country was of the sublimest cast. The spots on which they fought and on which many of them died, are scenes of purer and more substantial glory than that which was gained of old upon the plains of Marathon, or at the straits of Thermopylæ. The cool-blooded infidel casts a look of ineffable disdain upon the cause and doings of the reformers, because he regards them as merely the paltry conflictings of some insignificant religious sects. The servile advocate of arbitrary power turns away from them with disgust, because he is jealous of everything that has the heir of a struggle for freedom. The bigoted adherent of Popery dislikes them, because the reformers thought not altogether as he thinks, but made their appeal from the dogmas of erring men, to the unerring oracles of the living God. The pilgrim fathers fled from oppression, civil and religious, and carried their principles into the land of their adoption. And long after their exile, the fight against papal and prelatical pretensions, and the encroachments of arbitrary power, was kept up in the land of their fathers. The luminaries which shone so brightly during the revolutionary struggle, and in setting up our beautiful form of government, have passed away one by one, until all have sunk beneath the horizon. The intermediate links between the rising generation and the past are also giving way, and the brilliant luminaries are fast receding from our view.

The removal of eminent and useful statesmen, should be suitably improved by all. "It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this

the judgment." But death shall not always triumph, nor the grave hold its prisoners in everlasting chains. "Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of condemnation." I see around some who have gone down far into the vale of years; others less advanced, and some just entering upon its threshold. Let all be admonished by the scene before us. Flee to Christ, and lay hold upon him, as the hope set before us. Here is a balm for every wound, and healing for every disease. The promises of the Most High are suited to every case. Sometimes the Christian is afflicted and "made to possess months of vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed him. He is full of tossings to and fro until the dawning of the day, his flesh clothed with worms and clods of the dust, his skin broken and become loathsome. When he promises himself comfort on his bed, and that his couch shall ease his pain, then he is scared by dreams and terrified by visions, so that his soul chooseth strangling and death rather than life." Are any of you called to pass through trials, through sickness, through darkness and desertion? Jehovah is saying, "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." If you are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and your soul ready to faint, then he is saying: "When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I, the Lord, will hear them; I, the God of Israel, will not forsake them; I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys; I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water." If in sickness and sore distress, the Lord will strengthen on the bed of languishing. If bereaved of earthly friends, he is a "father to the fatherless," the "widow's husband, and the orphan's stay." "Fear not, I am with thee, be not dismayed, I am thy God, I will strengthen thee, yea I will help thee, yea I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteousness."

The occasion is peculiarly appropriate to youth. The success of Mr. CALHOUN affords great encouragement to the young. Without patrimony, he acquired a liberal education, and without fortune, or family influence, he attained the highest rank among men. He seemed to have escaped many of those temptations to which youth are so much exposed, and by which so many are led away, and to have been exempt from those follies which are so natural to the age of inexperience. Paul

speaks of Timothy as being indebted first to the faith which dwelt in his grandmother Lois, and in his mother Eunice, for that faith which dwelt in him also. And it is no presumption to suppose that Mr. CALHOUN was indebted to a pious ancestry for his great success in life. "I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring." The season of youth is peculiarly important. Many are the dangers to which the young are exposed. On the one hand presumption, and on the other a spirit of indifference and of procastination. The young and inexperenced are too ready to trust to their own abilities. There is a certain thoughtlessness belonging to their period of life, which, precluding much reflection on the past, or much anticipation of the future, must frequently betray them into mistakes, both in judgment and practice. Their passions, too, are more irritable and violent—less under the control of reason, less easily subdued by opposition, and less easily reconciled to the pain of disappointment. Warm with the love of pleasure, and buoyed up by that airy cheerfulness of temper which is so natural to youth, to them the exercises of devotion wear a gloomy aspect, and the path of Christianity appears rugged and forbidding. Experience is necessary to teach the young the necessity of aid from on high to walk closely with God. Repeated violations of the most solemn resolutions, repeated failures in the most solemn engagements, and numerous lapses into sin after the most solemn promises, teach the power of corruption, and the necessity of some divine conductor to lead us in safety through the perilous journey of life. Many, too, unsuspicious of deceit on the part of those with whom they associate, readily listen to every suggestion which flatters their vanity, or gratifies their inclination; and, instead of seeking first the Kingdom of Heaven, delay their application to the Throne of Mercy until they have become hardened in iniquity. "Go thy way for this time, when I have a convenient season I will call for thee." Let mothers take encouragement, and continue their efforts to train up their offspring in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. It is not necessary to say to you how great is your influence for good or evil. The late John Randolph publicly declared that he would have grown up an infidel, had it not been that he was accustomed from childhood, at his mother's knee, to say, "Our Father, who art in heaven." Teach your children to reverence and fear the Lord, to read his word, to respect the sanctity of his holy day. Carry them to the Lord Jesus at the throne of grace, and never weary in well doing, for in due season you shall "reap the promised reward, if you faint not." Finally, let one and all be persuaded to wait upon the Lord even in the way of judgment, to flee to him "who is a hiding from the wind, a

covert from the tempest, rivers of water in a dry place, and the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity. For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

# PORCHER'S EULOGY.

Eulogy on the late Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, delivered before the Cliosophic and Chrestomathic Societies, of the College of Charleston, on Thursday, July 6th, 1850, by FREDERICK A. PORCHER, Professor of History, &c., College of Charleston. Published by request of the Chrestomathic Society.

To pay honor to the memory of the illustrious dead is a sad privilege which men in all ages and all developments of civilization have exercised. In rendering our homage to those who have been distinguished by the characters of greatness, we do honor to ourselves, for we declare our sympathy for those noble traits, and our ability to appreciate them. It is an invaluable privilege to live in the same period with a truly great man, and the occasion of his death is justly appropriated as a solemn opportunity of holding up to the young the noble example of the life of him whose end they are called upon to deplore; and of impressing on their minds, by suitable ceremonies, a deep and abiding sense of the inestimable value in which his deeds are regarded by his grateful survivors.

On such occasions, the youth must learn to appreciate what truly constitutes greatness,—what are the elements of that perfect character, the removal of which, causes all to deplore the chasm that has been made; and to lay up in their memory as rules for future guidance a clear idea of those characteristics which have made the death of a man a national calamity.

Intellectual power is not all that constitutes greatness. The truly great man is he who finishes his work. The world has never been without brilliant men. Every period has had its heroes—men who have dazzled the eyes of contemporaries. But every period has not had its really great man. Genius is but one of the elements of greatness; if others be wanting, it is but the coruscation of a meteor; it blazes for the moment with dazzling brilliancy, and is lost forever in the regions of eternal night. He only is truly a great man, who has a consciousness of work to be done; who is earnestly devoted to his work; whose life is one of continued labor, who is characterized by industry.

The present age has been remarkable for intellectual activity, and for the great number of men in all departments of life who have gained

distinction for themselves, and added to the glory of their age. Of these, how many are there who deserve the appellation of greatness?

In that galaxy of talent which adorned the British Senate, when the spirit stirring events of Europe kindled into activity every spark of genius, what has been done by those whose names rang loudest in the ears of an admiring world? Where are the results of the labors of a Sheridan, of a Fox, of a Mackintosh? Of these names, once so illustrious, what more can be said, than that their work has been left undone, not because time was not allowed for its completion, but because they had not applied themselves to it with the earnestness, the devotion and the industry which are the true characteristics of greatness? What were they but brilliant corruscations?

Greatness is essentially conservative. The truly great man reveres his race, he respects himself, and honors the influences which have been brought to bear upon his own development. Existing institutions are sacred in his eyes. He seeks never to change them, but to apply those wholesome correctives which necessity may require, and circumstances indicate. He honors himself in honoring the wisdom of his ancestors.

This want of reverence characterized the French revolution, and caused it to result in failure. Eagerly grasping after something new; pursuing with avidity an ideal good, the illustrious men who guided that mighty event, struck at the root of all existing national institutions, and failed. They spurned the wisdom of their ancestors, and fell because men called in question their own. He who devotes his life to undoing the labors of his predecessors, has no right to hope that his own will be respected.

True greatness is consistent. The merely brilliant mind, dazzled by the alluring light of a spurious philosophy, turns incessantly from one object to another, but in this multiplicity of pursuits, no true progress is made, no real work done. I do not of course, intend to defend that shallow and narrow-minded consistency which attempts to follow undeviatingly the same track, in the vain hope of reaching a given end;—which will not shift a sail even when the wind changes; but that steady view of the end to be accomplished which is to be kept ever before us. Consistent in its aim and its object, true wisdom, must necessarily, in the fluctuating affairs of humanity, frequently pursue its end by means, which to the narrow minded observer, will appear inconsistent. In these apparent deviations, the truly great man will bear with patience the reproaches of ignorant cavillers, because he knows that when time will have developed his course, his every step, however erratic it may for the time appear, will then be most clearly proved, to be an onward progress towards the appointed end.

True greatness is full of cheerfulness and hope. The consciousness of work to be done, is itself an ennobling thought, and confidence in our ability to perform it, represses all emotions of despondency. He only can be happy who sees the goal to which he must direct himself. It is uncertainty alone which fills the mind with gloom. The right minded man whose eyes are open to the end which he is called upon to fulfil, is ever supported by the radiance of hope.

True greatness is characterized by faith, by love of truth, by perfect repose. He who has no faith in the efficacy of his power, must despond,—he who does not feel and believe in the truth of the work which it is his mission to perform, must labor without faith, and can produce no true result; he who works without faith for the accomplishment of a vain purpose, can never enjoy the repose of a great mind. Perfect repose is the grand ideal of the ancient masters in art; it is no less beautiful in the moral and intellectual world; it is the finishing touch of the great artist's hand; it is the consummation of moral excellence; it is the result of the consciousness of power, of faith, of earnestness, of truth.

Assembled together this evening to commemorate the virtues of the illustrious departed, I have thought it appropriate thus briefly to analyze some of the elements of greatness, in order that, by applying the tests to his own character, we may the better investigate and comprehend his claims to a place, in the ranks of those mighty spirits, who have not lived nor toiled in vain. In his life we find illustrated all the qualities which I have enumerated. He was earnest, industrious, reverent, consistent, and cheerful, and his character was remarkable for faith, for truthfulness, and for perfect repose.

I propose not to enter into a detail of the life of Mr. Calhoun. A son of Carolina, his late services are known to all. Born in a remote district, at a period when letters had not left the precincts of the metropolis, he toiled successfully against the difficulties which the state of the country opposed to the acquisition of knowledge, and as an earnest of the high value which he attached to elementary education, at an age when the aspiring votary of ambition longs to launch into the busy arena of life, we find him entering a student of Yale College. Among the sons of Carolina, whom the reputation of Dr. Dwight attracted at the same time to that venerable seat of learning, we find the names of I'On, the Gadsdens, Macbride, and Grimke. All of these have become eminent in their several vocations, but the keen observation of Dr. Dwight selected Mr. Calhoun as the one who was eminently destined to perform a conspicuous part in his country's his-

tory. And it was because to great intellectual power he added the earnestness of a truthful and faithful spirit. With him a college life was no season of recreation. He aimed there to accomplish the work which was set before him, and succeeded amid all the embarrassments of a defective preparation in bearing off one of the highest distinctions which a college can confer.

Soon after his return home, he obtained a seat in the Legislature of the State, and while there, he so distinguished himself, that at the next election, he was transferred to the Congress of the United States. In that body he continued without interruption until, on the election of Monroe, he became a member of his Cabinet. From the Cabinet of the Executive, he entered on the duties of the Vice-Presidency of the United States. In 1833, in obedience to the call of his native State, he retired from that office in order to defend the interests of his country in the Senate of the United States, and from that time to the hour of his death, he was, with a very brief interval of repose, either in the service of his State as a member of the National Congress, or in that of the Confederacy as one of the Constitutional advisers of the President.

For forty years Mr. CALHOUN was a prominent citizen. Always eminent, he has undergone every variety of fortune. He has been borne aloft on the wave of universal popularity; he has had his name used to stigmatise a political party. He has been assailed by opponents of every description save one—calumny never aimed a blow at his integrity.

Mr. CALHOUN'S public life is to be considered in three aspects. First, in its development, when between the years 1808 and 1817, he acted as a representative of the people; secondly, as vested with executive and administrative powers; and thirdly, in the consummation of his work, when in the evening of his days, he devoted his great intellectual powers to the object of his fondest aspirations, the means of preserving the American Union.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in 1782. A few months earlier, and his native district resounded with the peals of artillery by which the American army was repulsed from the fortress of Ninety-six. He was born then amid the tumults of the revolution, and he was trained in habits of love and reverence towards that Union, by whose efforts a foreign foe had been driven from his native soil. There is much imagination, but little truth in the assertion of Mr. Webster, that the bones of New England's dead have whitened every battle-field of the South. But though the picture is overdrawn, the associations connected with

that Union, under whose auspices Mr. CALHOUN first saw the light, are hallowed and venerable. The armies of the North were commanded by the illustrious Southerner whose mortal remains repose on the Western Bank of the Potomac; those of the South followed the distinguished citizen of Rhode Island, whose services were rewarded with a home, and who lies in an honored grave on one of those lovely Islands which girt the coast of Georgia. The peace which had been won, under the auspices of these great leaders was followed by a harmonious Union; the differences which existed were such only as grow naturally out of those principles of human nature, which render it as impossible as it is undesirable, perhaps unsafe, for men in society to exist without party distinctions.

But the grounds on which parties were then based, were respectable and liberal; they appealed to the better sentiments of humanity; the political partizan of all sections of the country associated in perfect harmony with those of the same party in every other quarter of the Republic.

So long as differences exist with regard to the theory on which government should be administered, party spirit is wholesome. It is a bond of union between the several divisions of the country. When Mr. CALHOUN commenced his public life, the divisions of parties were still based on those philosophical grounds which will cause differences even in members of the same household.

A zealous patriot, he became conspicuous for his nationality; a true American, he regarded with indignation the contumelious spirit with which his country was treated by that power which arrogantly claimed dominion over the seas; and he devoted himself with generous zeal to the support of that administration which dared assert and maintain the independence and sovereignty of his country.

On Mr. Monroe's election to the Presidency, he persuaded Mr. CALHOUN to preside over the War Department. This post he held during Mr. Monroe's administration, and the powerful influence of his mind is said to be still felt in the organization of that branch of the National Executive. Mr. Monroe is remarkable for having been re-elected by a unanimous vote. That was the era of the extinction of the old parties of the first part of our history. In his second term of office, a new organization of parties was effected, but unhappily based rather upon personal and sectional considerations, than upon those liberal views of policy, which alone can give dignity to political parties. Two of Mr. Monroe's cabinet were prominent candidates for the Presidency. The name of Mr. Calhoun was also for a short time brought forward, but his

claim was postponed to those of another, and an older son of Carolina who was unhappily cut off before the race was run; the great Kentuckian, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, had his supporters, and the popular name of Jackson already bid fair to carry everything before it.

The nation, distracted respecting the choice of the first officer of the government, had no doubt, concerning that of the second, and in 1824 Mr. CALHOUN was, by an almost unanimous vote, elected Vice-President of the United States.

That year which gave such illustrious testimony to his popularity, is remarkable also for being the epoch of a new feature in our history, and the development of a principle in our system which showed the necessity of protecting by every constitutional means the rights of all parties in the Confederacy.

The manufacturing interests, fostered by the war with England, stimulated by the protection which the high duties of that period necessarily required, found themselves, at the restoration of peace, on the verge of ruin. Their preservation was due mainly to the sense of justice of Mr. CALHOUN, who insisted that in the adjustment of revenue duties, they might be made to derive that incidental protection which would save them from destruction, and enable them in time to exist independently of any protection; his influence prevailed, the manufacturers were saved, and they repaid him with ingratitude.

Fostered by his foresight, and by his sense of justice, these interests acquired strength, and in the year 1824, they commanded a majority in Congress. To promote the general welfare, or in other words, to foster the interest of the majority by legislative action was now declared to fall legitimately within the province of Congress. The parties most interested were found to be situated on one side of the Union,—a sense of local interest overwhelmed all considerations of political philosophy, and the North and South, for the first time, were arrayed against each other.

Whilst this state of things was developing itself, Mr. CALHOUN was engaged in the occupations of office, and was excluded by his position from operating directly upon public sentiment. He watched, however, with painful interest the development of this new phasis in the history of our country, and was keenly alive to the conviction that, if that section which in point of numbers is the weakest, is not protected in the enjoyment of its rights, by inviolable constitutional sanctions, the Union would forever be in danger of dissolution. For majorities in all popular governments are apt to become despotic, and when the majority and

the minority are to be found in different sections of the country, it is unreasonable to expect that the minority will quietly submit to be reduced to a state of colonial vassalage. And here, let me express the vain wish, that his country had never lost his services in the councils of the nation. His truthful spirit might have influenced the representatives of the South so to have acted, as that the baneful spirit of compromise of Constitutional right should never have found favor at the South. For, who can now doubt, that if the South had firmly rejected all compromise, when in 1821 it was first proposed,—if she had insisted then that she would have a Union on equal terms, or no Union at all, and had adhered to that declaration with manly firmness, the Union would at this moment have been as pure, as harmonious, as binding on the affections of the whole people, as when it was first presented to them under the sanction of Washington?

These regrets are now alas vain! But the history of the past furnishes us with instructive lessons. It warns us that office, even the highest, is no place for the true working man. For nearly twenty years past, availability for party purposes, not absolute fitness for the office, has been the qualification for the Presidency. We have more than once had the mortification of seeing our chief magistrate voluntarily renounce a power which the Constitution has wisely placed in his hands, and which I believe has never been exercised without ultimately meeting the approval of the people. Such men have no true sense of their vocation; they are puffed up with the trappings and vain decorations of official station; they have neither the faith nor the truthfulness nor the courage of true workmen.

In 1832, South Carolina determined to interpose her own authority against the unconstitutional usurpations of the general government. It was a grave crisis; one which demanded the obedience of every son. The lamented Hayne left his seat in the United States Senate to assume the duties of the executive, and Mr. CALHOUN resigned the Vice-Presidency of the United States, to defend his State in the National council; and now he entered upon the consummation of his labors, and gave to his country those maxims which, though denounced by interested, or by ignorant and misguided contemporaries, as revolutionary, will be regarded by posterity, which will be compelled to do him justice, as the highest evidence of his conservative principles, the never dying testimony of his devotion to the Union.

In his early life no local jealousies or interests had arrayed the different sections of the country against each other. He had seen his State refuse to give her vote for the Presidency to one of her own most

valued sons. He found his country's independence, her national respectability seriously compromised. With a patriot's uncalculating zeal he addressed himself to wipe off the national stigma, and his name became identified with his country's glory.

Now, no question of national honor existed. The United States were acknowledged one of the great powers in the States System of Christendom. But a new spirit was at work. The doctrine of the absolute rule of the majority, a doctrine which has in all ages rendered a democracy the most unrelenting of tyrannies, had obtained possession of the Northern mind.

The Southern trade, which has ever been an object of eager competition with Northern nations, was swelling the revenues of the people of the North, and unable to bear with moderation that prosperity which an equal union could not fail to confer upon them, they grasped with insatiable avarice at more, and threatened to employ the arms of our common country to enforce obedience to their unholy demands.

Under these circumstances, Mr. CALHOUN urged the application of the conservative doctrines which had been promulgated by Virginia and Kentucky under the auspices of Madison and Nicholson. He insisted that this remedy alone, by preserving unimpaired the rights of the minority, could prevent that consolidation of empire, which in a country of such diversified interests, must sooner or later degenerate into a tyranny, and ultimately experience its fate, terminating either in the uncontrolled despotism of an autocrat, or in a severance of its component parts. This eminently conservative doctrine obtained cold favor at the South and was denounced without measure at the North. To the latter, as it opposed an effectual barrier to their career of legal spoliation, it was a stumbling block, and the great Carolinian, who had been remarkable for his nationality, was denounced by the ignorant and the interested for inconsistency of conduct, and reprobated for hostility to the Union.

Here again let us pause. In 1832, South Carolina stood alone. Arrayed against her was the Federal Government, at whose head was the most popular President who ever wielded the power of the Confederacy. The South, for whose interest and security she had placed herself in peril stood apart, the North was clamorous for revenge against the State which had dared practically to rebuke her avarice; and even at home, sons of Carolina were found among the most vehement in their denunciations. And if they who are now loudest in the call to resistance, if they, who now standing on the watch towers calling out in warning tones what of the night, had then listened to the voice of

prophetic wisdom, and stood by South Carolina, can a doubt exist, that in that second crisis in the latter history of our country, the rights of the minority would have been forever secured, and the Union preserved?

Divided at home, unsupported abroad, our State compelled the Government to retrace its steps, and for a time harmony was restored to the Union. For harmony invariably follows bold and energetic action. A minority determined to maintain its rights, adopts the course most likely to insure peace. What has ever been gained, I ask not of right, of profit, of advantage, for these are not even pretended to have been gained, but what even of peace, of quiet, of inglorious ease, has ever been gained by a concession of constitutional rights?

The only advantage ever gained for the South was the act of the Nullification party. Before South Carolina had extorted the Compromise act from an unwilling Congress, the streets of our city were overgrown with grass. Charleston owes the dawn of her commercial prosperity altogether to the action of that party, which, animated by the counsels of our great statesman, dared to arrest the progress of usurpation, and test the conservative principles of our Constitution.

But though triumphant in the cause for which she had directly interposed her action, the want of co-operation prevented South Carolina from proceeding to the settlement of the question of constitutional right. Divided among themselves, the voice which warned the South that the course of Northern aggression would continue to advance, was raised in vain. The prophecy of that day is history now. Hardly was the question of revenue settled by the compromise act, before a small faction of the North raised the ominous note of abolition. From an early period in our history, the people at the North have arrogated to themselves the guardianship of the morals of the rest of the Confederacy. Utterly disregarding the injunctions of Holy Writ, they are unconscious of the beam which obscures their vision, while they benevolently labor to extract the moat which, perchance, has fallen into their neighbor's eyes. Starting from the assumption that they alone possess evangelical truth, they have gradually manufactured for themselves, a Gospel of wrath against all who dare to differ from them, and so perfect has their system become, that one of their most distinguished exponents has not scrupled to declare, that he bears within his bosom a guide and monitor whose teachings have authority to supersede all written laws.

Encouraged by concessions at different times made by the South, adroitly using against their antagonists the hallowed cry of Union,

these persons have fulfilled, in every particular, the predictions which were made when the South was first exhorted to stand together in defence of her rights. But let us not on this occasion, by the contemplation of passing events, expose ourselves to the risk of becoming more warm than the proprieties of the occasion may justify. Enough that even now, the united South may save themselves and preserve the Union.

Mr. CALHOUN has finished his work. He has toiled for his common country, and his latest tones were heard in an impressive appeal for that Union in whose service he had exhausted his strength.

He has finished his work—after the fever of life, he now sleeps. But he is not dead; the true worker never dies. The body of the great man lies in the tomb, but the spirit that animated it lives, and the voice which he uttered continues to be heard, and the words which he spake will be repeated with louder and louder tones until they shall appear to be the common articulation of a unanimous people. That voice will cry aloud with irresistible eloquence, that without equality of rights the Union cannot continue to exist. In the fury of party warfare, in the senseless agitations of petty personal strifes, it may be smothered for a time, but just as surely as he was guided by the spirit of truth, so surely will his dying voice be heard. And not at the South alone will it be heard. The North too shall hear it, and it will be grateful to her ears as the voice of a deliverer. For sooner or later she must be made to know and to feel, that though superiority of numbers are with her, it is the South which possesses the strength, the moral power and the resources which lie at the foundation of national prosperity. Tossed about by every wind of political doctrine, agitated by the alluring light of a meretricious philosophy which is slowly but remorsely gnawing the vitals of her social system, she will be compelled to acknowledge that the South contains alone the conservative elements of national perpetuity. Urged by the spirit of gain to the utmost limits of industrial development, she depends on us for those resources on which her citizens build the fabric of their mighty fortunes. For it is here alone that rest the true elements of our national greatness. Let the North then drive us to disunion if she will. For us, the evils which the imagination associates with that idea, are but phantoms,—on her devoted head the fatal reality will recoil.

Having rapidly glanced at the labors of the great man, let us as briefly review a few points in his character.

Mr. CALHOUN was no party leader. He had his followers, and they were the more devoted to him because they never felt the trammels of

party. No man ever had to excuse an action of his life on the score of duty to his party. He was magnanimous. The peculiar relations which existed between him and Mr. Van Buren, caused a general expectation that he would be found in bitter hostility to his administration. But men who so thought, little knew the truthful spirit of him whose course they had undertaken to judge.

Perfect repose was a characteristic of Mr. CALHOUN. He respected opinion, and was never annoyed at the free expression of it. He never took umbrage at opposition, never lost his temper even when he knew and felt that it proceeded from personal hostility, or from the petty vanity of heading a party against a great mind. Trusting in the truthfulness of his principles, he was willing, after announcing them, to leave them to the operation of time. No man ever valued less the temporary triumph of a party.

In the social circle, he was no less eminent than in the arena of debate. With conversational powers of the highest order, he was always hopeful and cheerful. The young hung eagerly about him, and the old revered in him the illustration of their own respectability. He never carried his greatness with him into society, or more properly, greatness so well became him, was so naturally a part of his character, combined so harmoniously with the moral excellence which distinguished him, that admiration was swallowed up in love.

For Mr. CALHOUN was a good man;—modest and unassuming, he never trespassed on the rights of others. Strangers admired his intellectual power,—those who knew him, revered his moral worth. Others lament the loss of a statesman, a counsellor, a mighty genius; his neighbors mourn the loss of their associate and friend. Thus far we may go, but it is not for us to invade the sanctuary of domestic life. Hallowed ever be the affections which bind a family together—too sacred for us to dare even lift the veil which covers their affliction.

South Carolina has been reproached with having followed blindly the guidance of Mr. CALHOUN. To this charge, I cannot do better than reply in the eloquent language of another, "if there be one thing more contemptible and unmanly than another, it is the being sneered or laughed out of what we believe to be right and true. I for one am not ashamed to acknowledge that I have implicit confidence in the wisdom, ability and integrity of JOHN C. CALHOUN. I am not ashamed to confess, that considering him as one of the profoundest and most philosophical statesmen of the country, I am willing to be guided by his wisdom and long tried experience. Who more fit to lead the South than the slaveholder and planter—the far-seeing and sagacious states-

man—the calm and collected senator—the honest patriot—the pure and upright man?" Indeed, it may be generally observed, that the eminent men in the South enjoy in a remarkable degree the confidence of the people. No one ever spoke coldly of the merits of the Pinckneys, of Lowndes, of Hayne or of CALHOUN. They commanded the affections of those who trusted in them, because their eminence was due mainly to their moral worth. It is a trait of the Southern character, that mere intellectual power carries little weight. He who would lead the Southern mind must be a gentleman. We bow to no superiority but that which is based on purity of character.

It is glorious to be great, to be conscious of power, to feel that on ourself the eyes of the multitude are turned for guidance and direction, to know that even our enemies are made such by a sense of our strength—by a fear of our power.

It is a glorious thing to be great—to read our history in a nation's eyes—to know that our sentiments are destined to form the text books for future generations, to read with a prophet's ken the history which is yet to be written.

It is glorious to be great. The very instability of human grandeur adds a zest to the charm of elevation. The ceaseless exertion which its position calls forth, renders life an uninterrupted course of thrilling excitement.

But when greatness and goodness are allied—when intellectual strength is associated with moral purity—when the admiration which greatness extorts is lost in the love which goodness wins, then is exhibited the consummation of earthly perfection, the realization of human bliss.

# HAMMOND'S ORATION.

An Oration on the Life, Character, and Services of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. Delivered on the 21st November, 1850, in Charleston, S. C., at the request of the City Council, by J. H. Hammond.

Faith is an instinct of the human heart. Its strongest, its purest, and its noblest instinct—the parent of love and of hope. In all ages and everywhere, mankind have acknowledged, adored, and put their trust in the great Creator and Ruler of the Universe. And descending from the invisible and infinite, to the visible and finite, they have entertained the same sentiments, differing only in degree, for those of their own species who have received from heaven an extraordinary endowment of intellect and virtue. The Ancient Heathen deified them. By the early Christians they were enrolled among the Saints. It is a shallow and a base philosophy which can see superstition only in such customs, and fails to recognize the workings of a profound veneration for the attributes of God, as manifested through his favorite Creations. A better knowledge of the bounds which separate the natural from the supernatural, has taught us in our day to limit our homage, but still it is a deep and pure wisdom which counsels us to submit ourselves in no grudging spirit to the guidance of those great Minds that have been appointed to shed light and truth upon the world.

To the honor and praise of South Carolina it may be said that she has thus far recognized her prophets, and believed their inspiration. She has aided and sustained them in the performance of their missions, with a warm and steady confidence, and she has been faithful to their memory. Her loyal reverence for real greatness has ever been a deep —I might say a religious sentiment—untinged with superstition, but as profound as it is magnanimous and just.

For no one of her many noble sons has Providence permitted her to evince for so long a period her admiration, her affection, and her confidence: for no one has she herself endured such trials: no one has she ever consigned to his last resting place in her bereaved bosom amid such deep and universal grief as him whose life and services we have assembled this day to commemorate. For more than forty years the

name of CALHOUN has never been pronounced in South Carolina without awakening a sensation. For nearly the same period it has been equally familiar and fraught with as deep an interest to every citizen of this wide-spread Union. Few of us here present can remember the era when we heard it first. We have grown up from childhood under its mighty influence, and we feel that a spell was broken, a tie of life was sundered forever, when it ceased to be a living sound.

The Man is now no more. He has closed his career with us, to begin another in a better world. But what he did and what he said while here, still live, and will live forever in their consequences—as immortal as the Spirit which has returned to God. How he performed his part on earth it is ours now to consider. And drying our unavailing tears, and burying for the moment in the deepest recesses of our bosoms, the love and reverence we bore him, it is our duty to analyze his life with the strict impartiality of a distant posterity; and to bring the thoughts and actions he left behind him to the great standard of eternal Truth, that we may render complete justice to him, and gather for ourselves and our children the full measure of the lessons which he taught. The living Man scorned fulsome adulation: and his living Spirit, if permitted to hover over us now, and to hear our voices and perceive the pulsations of our hearts, will accept no offering that cannot bear the scrutiny of Time and the severest test of Truth.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in the backwoods of South Carolina, near the close of the Revolutionary War. His early nurture was in the wilderness, and during the heroic age of the Republic. In youth he imbibed but a scant portion of the lore of books, but his converse with the volume of Nature was unlimited; and in the field and forest, by the stream and by the fireside, he was in constant intercourse with those rough but high-strung men who had challenged oppression at its first step, and were fresh from the battles in which they had won their liberties with their swords. His father, too, was a wise and strong man. For thirty years in the councils of the State, he was as familiar with the strifes of politics as of arms. In his rude way he penetrated to fundamentals: discovered that the true foundation of government is the welfare of the governed; denounced its excessive action; and opposed the constitution of the Union because it placed the power of laying taxes in the hands of those who did not pay them. Amid such men and such scenes, there was little opportunity for what is commonly called education for the young CALHOUN. But it may be doubted whether, having acquired the use of letters and figures, and been thus furnished with the two great keys of knowledge, there could have been a much better

training for the future Statesman. Pericles and Alexander were, perhaps, taught but little more by Anaxagoras and Aristotle, than CALHOUN learned from his few books, from nature, and such men. In this School he learned to think, which is a vast achievement. And he was furnished with high and noble themes for thought, by those whose partial knowledge of facts led them to discuss chiefly essential principles, to evolve fundamental truths, and to build on them those lofty theories to which the exigencies of the times gave birth. He was thus taught not only the sum and substance of elementary education, but was imbued with that practical philosophy, according to which human affairs are in the main conducted. It is true that thousands have received the same lessons and profited nothing. But we know that seed sown by the wayside and among stones and thorns, is gathered by the birds, or is withered or choked up; and it is only when it falls on good ground that it springs up and produces fifty and an hundred fold. It is idle to deny the natural diversity of human intellects. It was due, after all, to the rich soil of CALHOUN'S mind that these noble seed took root, and bore abundantly such precious fruits.

It was not until he had passed his eighteenth year that he seriously embarked in the pursuit of Scholastic learning, and the event proved—as possibly it would in most cases—that no time had been really lost. Perhaps it seldom happens that the bud of the mind is sufficiently matured before this age, to expand naturally and absorb with benefit the direct rays of knowledge, so bright, so piercing, and so stimulating. The tender petals eagerly opened at too early a period, often wither and die under the overpowering light. At eighteen Mr. CALHOUN went to the Academy: at twenty to College: at twenty-two he graduated at Yale: at twenty-five he was admitted to the Bar: at twenty-six he was elected to the Legislature: at twenty-eight to Congress. Thus, though apparently starting late, he nevertheless arrived at the goal far in advance of most of those who reach it. But when he went to the Academy he did not dream over books, any more than he did afterwards over the affairs of life. He had learned already what many never learn—to think: and to think closely—to the purpose—searching for the principle. Having acquired this mighty power—for it is a power, and the greatest of all—when he did start in his career, he strode onward like a conqueror. Difficulties were mere exercises. Valleys rose in his path, and mountains sunk down to a level. First at School: first at College: he rose at once to the front rank at the Bar and in the Legislature: and was assigned a most distinguished position the moment he took his seat in Congress. His course was a stream of light. Men of all classes

recognized its brilliancy, and hailed him, not as a meteor, but as a new star risen in the heavens, which had floated without effort into its appointed orbit, and promised long to shed the brightest and most beneficent beams upon the world.

What, we may properly ask, was the secret of this rapid and wonderful success? How was it that this young man, coming but a few years before from the wilderness, late in youth, without knowledge of books, unknown himself, and destitute of powerful friends, should, in so short a time, not only win his way into the Great Council of the Confederacy, but be at once conceded a place among the first, and draw to himself the admiration and the hopes of a people?

> 'What should it be that thus their faith could bind?
> The power of Thought—the magic of the Mind!"

Mr. CALHOUN first took his seat in Congress at the commencement of the Session of 1811. From that period may be dated his career as a statesman. That career may be properly divided into several epochs, each of which is memorable in the history of our country, and was made memorable in no small degree by the parts which he performed. The first embraces his services in the House of Representatives. The great question of the Session of 1811–'12, was that of war with England. All Europe was then, and had been for twenty years, in arms, and that mighty conflict which terminated not long after in the overthrow of Napoleon, and the establishment of the Holy Alliance, was at its height. France and England were the two leading belligerents, and both of them, in utter disregard of neutral rights, had perpetrated unexampled outrages upon us. We had in vain resorted to embargoes and non-importation acts, and at length it became indispensably necessary to our maintaining any position among nations, that we should declare war against one or both of these powers. The direct pecuniary interests of the South had been but slightly affected by these outrages. She had but little commerce to be plundered—few seamen to be impressed. Her only great interest involved—and this she felt in every fibre—was the honor of our common country. To vindicate that she went for war, and went for it almost unanimously. South Carolina took the lead. Her illustrious Representatives Lowndes, Cheves, Williams, and CALHOUN, were the leaders of all those important Committees whose province it is to propose war, and marshal the resources for carrying it on. And nobly and gloriously did they all perform their duty. Mr. CALHOUN, placed second on the Committee of Foreign Relations, soon

became its head by the retirement of the chairman, and, before the close of his first Session, he reported and carried through the House, a bill declaring war against Great Britain; and, throughout the momentous conflict, undaunted in courage and infinite in resources, he stood forward the leading champion of every measure for its vigorous prosecution. Young as he was, he shrunk from no opponent in that Congress, never before or since equalled for its assemblage of talent. He surrendered nothing, and shunned no responsibility. In the darkest and most perilous hour of the war, when Napoleon had fallen, and England was free to turn the whole of her armament on us; when the Eastern States, not content with denouncing the war through their presses, and from their platforms and their pulpits, had assailed in every form the credit of the Government: had paralyzed all the financial operations of the country, and caused a general suspension of the Southern Banks: had given valuable "aid and comfort to the enemy" by loans of specie, and were conspiring to withdraw from the Confederacy and make peace for themselves: in that desponding hour, when all seemed lost, he did not falter for an instant. "The great cause," he said, "will never be yielded—no, never! never! I hear the future audibly announced in the past—in the splendid victories over the Guerriere, the Java, and the Macedonian. Opinion is power. The charm of British naval invincibility is gone."

Mr. CALHOUN'S course throughout the war can never fail of the admiration and applause of future times; and that war was a turning point in the history of the world. It established a competitor with England for the trident of the ocean, whose triumph is inevitable. And just and necessary as it was, and glorious as its result, it gave rise in the end to questions in this country, which no human sagacity could have anticipated, whose solution, yet in the womb of time, may be of far greater import than the dominion of the seas.

Mr. CALHOUN entered Congress as a member of the Republican party, as distinguished from the Federal, and throughout his service in the House, acted with it in the main. But he gave many and early proofs that his was a temperament which could never "give up to party what was meant for mankind." Following his illustrious colleague,* who yet survives to our love and veneration, with his powerful intellect unimpaired, and his devotion to his native soil more ardent and self-sacrificing, if possible, than ever,—he warmly advocated a large addition to the navy, at an early period of warlike preparations, and, ever after, consis-

* Hon. Langdon Cheves.

tently and earnestly sustained this most important arm of defence and supporter of the State. The Republican party, under Mr. Jefferson, had, with a narrow policy, condemned the navy. But amphibious man never attains half his national greatness, until his domain on the water equals that upon the land—until the terror of his prowess makes his home upon the deep as secure as on the mountains, and the products of his industry float undisturbed on every tide.

At this early period also, Mr. CALHOUN took his stand against the Restrictive System, which had been so great a favorite with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, as a substitute for war. He denounced it as unsound in policy, and wholly unsuited to the genius of our people; and he opposed it vigorously, until it fell beneath his blows. But it may well be questioned, whether at that time his opposition was at all enlightened by those great principles of Free Trade, then so little known, which it was the glory of his later life to develop and sustain under such trying circumstances. He then opposed the Restrictive System as a war measure, and demonstrated that it was not only inefficient, but injurious. Neither then, nor when the import duties were re-adjusted at the close of the war, did he appear to have perceived the dangers which lurked under the protection which this system gave to manufactures, nor those which followed such protection when specifically given by the direct action of the Government. For, in the debate in 1814, while Mr. Webster, now the great champion of protection, declared "he was an enemy to rearing manufactures, or any other interest in a hot bed, and never wished to see a Sheffield or a Birmingham in this country," Mr. CALHOUN said "as to the manufacturing interest, in regard to which some fear has been expressed, the resolution voted by the House yesterday was a strong pledge that it would not suffer manufactures to be unprotected in case of a repeal of the Restrictive System. He hoped that, at all times, and under every policy, they would be protected with due care." And, again in 1816, he advocated without any note of caution, the bill introduced by another distinguished Carolinian,* long since snatched from us by a premature death, but whose genius and virtues—whose lofty character and inestimable services can never be forgotten; a bill which distinctly recognized the protective principle, and introduced perhaps its most oppressive feature. The truth is that at that day, political economy was in its infancy. Free Trade was most commonly understood to mean merely the freedom of the seas. The most sagacious intellects of our country—Mr. Webster perhaps excepted,

* Hon. William Lowndes.

had apparently no apprehensions of the evils of the false theory of protection as applied to us; and that abominable system, since called "the American," it had entered into no man's imagination to conceive. Mr. CALHOUN, at a later period, so far in advance of his age, was, at that epoch, the embodiment of the spirit of the times, and among its most able and effective expounders.

At the crisis of the war, when the credit of the government was prostrate, an United States Bank was proposed by the administration, and supported by the Republican party. This Mr. CALHOUN opposed and defeated; though in a modified form, it would finally have passed the House, but for the casting vote of Mr. Cheves. It was, however, on account of the extraordinary character of the proposed Bank, that Mr. CALHOUN resisted it, and not apparently from any doubt of the policy or constitutionality of a Bank chartered by Congress. In fact, he had himself previously proposed a Bank to be established in the District of Columbia, with the express view of getting rid of certain constitutional scruples felt by others; and he was the responsible author of the Bank of 1816, whose powerful efforts to prolong its own existence, so fiercely agitated the whole union twenty years later, and ended in consequences so disastrous not only to its own stockholders, but to the country. From Mr. CALHOUN'S subsequent declarations, it is certain that in his maturer years he regarded the whole Banking system, as at present organized, as a stupendous evil, and he emphatically declared, that its power, "if not diminished, must terminate in its own destruction, or an entire revolution in our social and political system:" and that of all Banks, he regarded a mere Government Bank as the most dangerous, may be safely inferred from the fact, that neither the ties of party, nor the entreaties of the administration, nor the exigencies of the most critical period of the war, could prevent him from vigorously opposing such an Institution, though not then hostile to an United States Bank. He advocated the Bank of 1816, as indispensably necessary for the restoration of the currency; and to the last, he believed that no other expedient could have effected that great object. He avoided the constitutional question, by assuming that so long as the Government received Bank notes at all as money, it was bound to "regulate their value," and for that purpose a Bank was "necessary and proper." He said, however, even then, that "as a question *de novo*, he would be decidedly against a Bank;" and when in 1837 he thought it could be done with safety, he took an active and efficient part in excluding all Bank notes from the Treasury of the United States.

During the Session of 1816, arose another of those great questions

which may be said to have had their origin in the war, and which have since so divided and agitated our country. Mr. Jefferson had recognized the power of Congress to appropriate money for Internal Improvements in the case of the Cumberland Road, and, in 1808, Mr. Gallatin, his Secretary of War, had made a report recommending a stupendous system. It was not until after the war, the expenses of which had been enormously increased by the cost of transportation, that the subject attracted the serious attention of the whole country. Mr. CALHOUN brought forward and carried in 1816 a bill appropriating the bonus and dividends of the United States Bank to Internal Improvements. This bill was vetoed as unconstitutional by Mr. Madison, to the surprise of all, and most especially of its author, who believed he was carrying out the views entertained by Madison, and suggested in his annual message. In 1818, Mr. CALHOUN, as Secretary of War, made a report on Roads and Canals, embracing views and recommending measures fully as extensive as those of Mr. Gallatin. On none of these occasions did he express his opinion as to the constitutional power of the Federal Government to carry on Internal Improvements. But, if his opinions may be inferred from those of his most intimate and confidential friends—from the celebrated Message of Mr. Monroe in 1823, and the equally celebrated speech of Mr. McDuffie shortly after—it must be conceded that, at that time, he believed the power of the Government to lay taxes, and appropriate the proceeds, was limited only by the injunction that they should be applied to the "common defence and general welfare." This doctrine in every way so fatal in our political system, has since received its severest blows from his hands; and, in 1838, he declared that one of the most essential steps to be taken, in order to restore our government to its original purity—then the great and sole object of his political life—was to "put a final stop to Internal Improvements by Congress."

With the session of 1816–17 closed Mr. CALHOUN'S services in the House of Representatives. Here also terminated an epoch in his career as a statesman. He had more than fulfilled the high expectations entertained of him when he entered Congress. His reputation for talent had increased with every intellectual effort he had made. And his ability—now universally admitted to be of the very highest order—his well-tried patriotism, his unflinching moral courage, the loftiness and liberality of all his views and sentiments, and the immaculate purity of his life, gave him a position in the public councils and in the opinion of the country, second to no one of that illustrious band whom the greatest crisis in affairs, since the revolution—"the second war of Independence"—had brought upon the stage.

In reviewing Mr. CALHOUN'S political course up to this period, if with the sternness of the historian, we brush aside the splendid halo that surrounds it, and call to our aid the experience of a third of a century of rapid progress: above all, if we examine it by the effulgent light which he, himself, more than all other men, has since shed upon the Federal Constitution, and judge it by those rigid and severe tests which he has taught us, we cannot fail to perceive that brilliant, useful and glorious as it was, to his country and himself, his views in many most important particulars, were essentially erroneous; and that he assisted powerfully in giving currency to opinions, and building up systems that have proved seriously injurious to the South, and probably to the stability of the existing Union. These I have not hesitated to point out. It was due to truth, to history, and to him.

It has been customary to apologize for these errors, by saying that they were the errors of youth. But Mr. CALHOUN had no youth to our knowledge. He sprung into the arena like Minerva from the head of Jove, fully grown and clothed in armour—a man every inch himself, and able to contend with any other man. A severe moralist would point to them as conspicuous proofs of the fallibility of our nature, since the deepest devotion both to the Union and his native section, and the most perfect purity of purpose, combined with the subtlest intellectual acumen and the profoundest generalization, could not save him from them. There may be much truth and wisdom in this view. But there are reasons why Mr. CALHOUN should have fallen at that time into the opinions that he held, which, properly considered, would remove every shadow of suspicion from his motives, if any has ever been seriously entertained, and almost wholly excuse the most sagacious of men who laid no claim to inspiration.

Although there were, from the commencement of the Government, two parties, one of whom contended for a strict and the other for a latitudinarian construction of the Constitution, a review of the practical questions which arose between them would show that few or none of them were of a sectional bearing. The alien and sedition laws, which produced the greatest excitement of any internal question, had no such tendency. The funding of the domestic debt might have been so accidentally; but no question, necessarily and permanently sectional, attracted serious notice until after the second war. In fact, under the administrations of the earlier presidents, all those sectional jealousies which had displayed themselves so conspicuously during the confederation, and which are so prominent in the debates of the convention that framed the Constitution, had been lulled to sleep, and a large proportion

of the ablest Southern men were Federalists. The great questions which did agitate the country, on which elections turned, and parties really, though not altogether, nominally divided off, were external, not internal questions. Our colonial habits still predominated, and we looked abroad for our dangers: for our enemies and our friends. English, French and Spanish negotiations: Jay's Treaty: the squabble with the Directory: the acquisition of Louisiana: the terrible wars of Europe: the aggressions on our neutral rights: and, finally, the embargo—non-importation—non-intercourse laws and war with England:—these were the great and deeply interesting subjects which absorbed men's minds and colored all their political opinions. The Constitution was overlooked and violated by both parties; and I believe it may be said that on no question of a constitutional character were party lines stringently drawn after the election of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Monroe declared, on his accession, that we were "all Federalists—all Republicans."

It was under these circumstances, and at a period when, above all others, an ardent and patriotic mind would be least disposed to contemplate sectional interests or stickle about constitutional scruples, that Mr. CALHOUN entered Congress. It was, then, indeed, the imperative duty of the patriot to discard all mere sectional considerations; and, perhaps, to give the most liberal construction to the Constitution, to enable the ship of State to meet and ride out the storms which threatened to engulph it. The difficulties were immense. Mr. CALHOUN, placed at once in a high and responsible position, and taking, as was said at the time, the war upon his shoulders, was absorbed, during his first three sessions, in devising measures to meet its pressing exigencies; and, during the last three, in endeavoring to dissipate its injurious effects upon the currency, commerce and industry of the country. And considering the history of the past: the conduct of parties on internal constitutional questions: the habitual disregard of strict construction by the Republican leaders: the acquiescence of older and very able men of all sections in the constitutionality of the Bank, the Tariff and Internal Improvements: it is not at all to be wondered at, nor to be severely condemned, that in the universal confusion and the burning glow of his broad patriotism, so fanned by current events, he should fail to look at the sectional bearing of propositions, or even of constitutional constructions. No man—not one in our wide confederacy—North or South—foresaw what was coming out of the convulsions of the war; and the measures adopted to ease down the country to a state of peace, and prepare her for a prosperous career under circumstances so greatly

different as were those of 1815–17, from any she had yet encountered. Carpings and croakings there were, of course, and prophecies of evil in abundance. But the results baffled all predictions: or, at least, verified so little of what any had foretold, as to place the wisest seer on no higher tripod than that of a lucky fortune-teller. Mr. CALHOUN never croaked or carped. And, if he erred in straying from the narrow, but only true path of rigid constitutional construction, he may well be forgiven for following precedents that were almost consecrated—the examples of nearly all with whom he acted—and the impulses of a generous, confiding, and wide extended love of country.

Soon after Mr. Monroe's accession to the Presidency, Mr. CALHOUN received the appointment of Secretary of War, and took his seat in the Cabinet in December, 1817, where he remained until March, 1825. This period embraced the second epoch of his career. The future biographer will find in it much that will be interesting to relate, but on an occasion like this it may be passed over without any minute examination. From the commencement of the war it had been discovered that the internal organization of the War Department was so defective, that it was impossible to conduct its affairs with due efficiency. It was in vain that three different Secretaries were in succession at its head during the war, and a fourth appointed at its close. When Mr. CALHOUN took charge of it, nearly three years after, he found unsettled accounts to the amount of forty millions, and the greatest confusion in every branch. In a remarkably short period he introduced a perfect organization, in which all the details were so thoroughly and judiciously systematized, that no material changes have been made to this day. He reduced the unsettled accounts to a few millions, which were not susceptible of liquidation, and against incessant and powerful opposition, curtailed the discretionary expenses nearly one-half, while, at the same time, the efficiency of the Army was greatly increased, and his own popularity in it grew with every reform, and to the last day of his administration.

Many of Mr. CALHOUN'S best friends had advised him not to accept this appointment. They knew the apparently insuperable difficulties of re-organizing a Department which had baffled so many able men. They thought that his mind was of a cast too abstract and metaphysical to cope with the practical details of the Military System, and were apprehensive lest his brilliant reputation might be clouded. They did not remember that if real genius is not universal, both war and politics are but the concretes of philosophy: that in ancient times these pursuits were almost invariably united: that the greatest of metaphysicians was

the founder of the science of politics, and trained the greatest warrior of antiquity: that Bacon presided in the House of Lords: that Carnot "organized victory:" that, in short, though politicians and soldiers may spring up every day, and strut their hour upon the stage, no one can be a statesman or a general who has not analyzed the structure of the human mind, and learned to touch the remotest springs of human action.

High as Mr. CALHOUN'S legislative talent had been rated, he had not been long in the War Department before his administrative talent was regarded as quite equal, if not superior; and he rose so rapidly in the estimation of his countrymen, that early in Mr. Monroe's second term, when he was only forty years of age and had been but little more than ten years in the Federal Councils, he was nominated for the Presidency by the large and influential State of Pennsylvania. He subsequently consented to have his name withdrawn in favor of Gen. Jackson. He was then nominated for the Vice Presidency—was elected by a large majority, and took his seat as President of the Senate in 1825. In regard to his direct connection with that body as its presiding officer, it is perhaps sufficient to say that, on all occasions he fully sustained his reputation. No incident of lasting importance occurred to elicit any extraordinary display of peculiar qualities of mind or temperament, until near the close of his first term. But the period of that term constitutes a most important era in the annals of our country, and also in the life of Mr. CALHOUN. And hence may be dated the third and last epoch in his career.

I have already adverted to the fact, that the Republican party had long strayed from the straight and narrow path of constitutional construction in which it first set out. The events of the war had so utterly prostrated and disgraced the Federal party, that at its close that party was dissolved, and the very name of Federalist almost universally repudiated. The check of opposition removed, the Republican party—with but few exceptions—fell headlong into the very slough in which their adversaries had foundered. They had every thing in their own hands, and "feeling power they forgot right." A new party in the mean time grew up, which afterwards assumed the name of "National Republican," and more recently of "Whig," absorbing most of the old Federalists, and a portion of the old Republicans. Of this party was Mr. Adams—a converted Federalist—who was elected President in 1824, by the House of Representatives, through the instrumentality of Mr. Clay, who became his Secretary of State. The manner of Mr. Adams' election: the extreme Federal doctrines of his first message;

and, above all, perhaps, the exigencies of opposition, awakened the genuine Republicans to some consciousness of their great and long cherished errors. They united on Gen. Jackson as their candidate for the Presidency. Their manifestoes breathed the true spirit of the Republicanism of '98; and the Constitution became apparently the favorite study of those who had come into public life subsequently to that period. Mr. CALHOUN, it is said, avowed that until this time he had never fully analyzed and understood the Constitution. This may be readily believed without referring to the instances already mentioned, in which he had departed from it. He had always been up to that period in the majority. Majorities do not rely on constitutions. Their reliance is on numbers and the strong arm. It is not to be expected of them to study, and it seems to be almost impossible for them to comprehend constitutions, the express purpose of which is to limit their power, and hedge in their privileges. It is minorities who look closely into constitutions, for they are their shield and tower of safety. Mr. CALHOUN had, doubtless, read the Constitution attentively, and mastered its general principles. But there were parts he had not scrutinized, and a deep and vital spirit running through the whole, which he had never yet imbibed, nor had any of the younger men up to that period. In fact, a new kind of constitutional questions now arose: or, rather, the progress of events had developed new and deeply important bearings in old questions. It now became manifest, for the first time since the Constitution had gone into operation, that it might be so construed as to oppress and ruin one section for the benefit of another. And it was also clearly seen that the South was the doomed section, and that the chief instrument of destruction was a protective tariff.

It was well known that Mr. Hamilton, as early as 1791, had, with great power advocated the protection of manufactures, and that duties had been imposed with that view; but they were so extremely moderate as to be of little benefit to that interest, and caused no alarm in others. The duties had been increased under every subsequent administration for the sake of revenue, and had been doubled during the war. When in 1816 it became necessary to reduce the war duties, the question arose to what extent they were to be retained for the protection of manufactures, and some of them were adjusted for that purpose at a high comparative rate, as I have already stated. These duties were increased in 1820; and, in 1824, the manufacturers again came forward with exorbitant demands, which were acceded to. Then, for the first time in thirty years, and by but a few voices, the constitutional power to protect manufactures was questioned in Congress. It was

now obvious that the protected interest had "an appetite which grew from what it fed on;" and that in this country, in every period of about four years, for reasons which it is unnecessary to dwell on here, it required new and enormous impositions.

Mr. Adams had warmly recommended the protective tariff, and Mr. Clay giving it the *ad captandum* title of the "American system," claimed to be its first champion, and made it the leading question in the Presidential canvass, from 1825 to 1829. The South had opposed it with great vigor and much unanimity in 1824; because, on the principle of communism, it taxed the agricultural interest to support the manufacturing: and, inasmuch as we furnished two-thirds of the exports that paid for the imports on which the duties were levied, it was fully believed, and pretty clearly demonstrated, that our small section paid near two-thirds of the revenue of the Government, besides paying the manufacturers an enhanced price on the protected articles we consumed. Some of the Eastern States opposed it also, because it injured commerce and navigation, but they ultimately came in to its support. The Western and Middle States were decidedly for it. To secure their support, and yet retain that of the South, Gen. Jackson gave the equivocal pledge that he would sustain a "judicious tariff," which, in the South, was construed to mean a constitutional revenue tariff; and, elsewhere, to mean a protective tariff.

In 1828, at the end of four years, as was usual, a new tariff bill was brought forward in Congress. It was blotched and bloated with the corrupt bids of a majority of the Jackson party itself, for manufacturers' votes, to be paid in gold wrung from the already over-burdened South. And so extravagant were these bids, that the protective interests hesitated to accept a bribe so monstrous, lest they should over-shoot the mark and fall under public odium. It was thought, at one time, that the vote in the Senate would be a tie, and the fate of the bill would depend on the casting vote of the presiding officer. Mr. CALHOUN was then Vice President, and a candidate for re-election on the same ticket with General Jackson, whose success depended entirely on the support of Mr. CALHOUN'S friends. It was confidently believed that save Gen. Jackson, there was no one so popular throughout the Union as Mr. CALHOUN; and his accession to the Presidency, on the retirement of Gen. Jackson, was considered almost certain. It was known that he was opposed to this bill, and he was now appealed to as the supporter of Gen. Jackson, and candidate of the Republican Party for the Vice Presidency, and out of regard to his own future prospects, not to give his casting vote against it, but to leave the chair, as was not at all

unusual, and allow the bill to take the chances of the Senate. Mr. CALHOUN knew the full import of his reply to this appeal. If he not only refused to pledge himself to a "Judicious Tariff," but openly and unequivocally took his stand against the whole protective system, now overwhelmingly popular, he surrendered, in all human probability, every prospect of the Presidency, and must pass the remainder of his life in combatting in a small and almost hopeless minority, not for power, not for glory, but for justice, and, in a measure, for the existence of the South. He was thus, in a critical moment, called on to make at once and forever, a decision which was to shape his destiny, and perhaps the destiny of a whole people. He did not hesitate. He had now mastered the Constitution; he now also saw clearly the fatal tendency of the prominent measures brought forward at the close of the war; and casting behind him all the glorious labors of the past, and all the brilliant prospects of the future—holding in one hand the Constitution, and in the other truth, justice, and the violated rights of his native land, he took his post with his little band; waged in the breach a truceless war of two and twenty years, and perished there.

Neither ancient nor modern annals furnish a nobler example of heroic sacrifice of self. Peel yielded to popular demands, and exchanged party for public gratitude and influence. Burke gave up friends, but power smiled upon him. Self-banished Aristides had already satiated his ambition. Cato and Brutus perished in the shock. But, in the early prime of life, midway his yet unchecked career—with the greatest of ambition's prizes but one bound ahead, CALHOUN stopped and turned aside, to lift from the dust the Constitution of his country, trampled, soiled, and rent; and bearing it aloft, consecrated himself, his life, his talents, and his hopes, to the arduous, but sacred task, of handing it down to other ages as pure as it was when received from the Fathers of the Revolution. Glorious and not bootless struggle. The Constitution has not been purified. It never will be; but its principles have been made immortal, and will survive and flourish, though it shall itself be torn to atoms and given to the winds.

The magnitude of Mr. CALHOUN'S sacrifice may be more readily appreciated than the difficulties of his undertaking. The diseases of the body politic had not only become seated, but were complicated and peculiar. At the bottom was the now established doctrine that the majority had the unquestionable and the indefeasible right to place its own construction on the Constitution. On this arose not only the Tariff, but the Internal Improvement System, which had completely triumphed. Immense sums, the proceeds of high duties, were annually

appropriated for the benefit of the Tariff States; while the United States Bank, by its control over the government funds, concentrated the exchanges at the North, and made the protected section the heart of the financial system of the Union. Thus was formed a combination of sectional interests, sustained by a sectional majority under a corrupted Constitution, all bearing, with fatal and relentless aim, on the devoted South, while behind them another question, purely sectional, and having nearly the same geographical lines, was easily to be discerned rearing its monstrous crest, and portending dangers, in comparison with which all others sunk to insignificance. Among a homogeneous people, majorities and minorities frequently change places. Indeed it is natural, and where discussion and free action are allowed, it is inevitable that they should. But, where they are sectional, even more than where they are founded on classes, vital and antagonistic interests make the change a Revolution, such as rarely happens without bloodshed. A sectional majority, remote, arrogant, and fatally bent on maintaining its supremacy and promoting its peculiar interests, never listens to warning or to reason; and the minority, if it has not the courage or the strength to tender an issue of force, is soon corrupted, divided, and necessarily enslaved. Mr. CALHOUN could not have failed to perceive all these difficulties, and, in abandoning, under such circumstances, his high position in the majority, to unite his fortunes irrevocably with the weaker section, he exhibited an example, almost without parallel, of disinterested patriotism and lion-hearted courage; and of that "unshaken confidence in the Providence of God," which, in his latest moments, he declared to be his consolation and support.

Henceforth he is no longer to be viewed as the favorite child of genius and of fortune. His path is no longer strewed with garlands, and his footsteps greeted with applause. Toiling in the deepest anxiety, yet, happily for himself, with the unfailing hopefulness of his nature, to accomplish his Herculean task, he encounters at every step the deadliest hostility. He is assailed on all sides and from every section—even from his own. Envy and malice shoot their long poisoned arrows, and ignorance and corruption shower every missile on him; and it yet remains to be decided, and depends in no small degree upon the issue of the great struggle now approaching its crisis, whether he shall go down to posterity pourtrayed in the colors of the Gracchi of the Patricians, or the Gracchi of the People.

The Tariff Bill of 1828 passed the Senate by a majority of one vote, and became a law. So exorbitant were its exactions, that, out of an import of $64,000,000 it carried $32,000,000 into the Treasury. Mr.

CALHOUN, who had announced his intention to vote against it, was loud in his denunciations of it and of the protective system; and, at the next succeeding Session of our State Legislature, an exposition was presented by the Committee of Federal Relations, drawn up by him, in which the whole subject was elaborately discussed. It was then that he suggested, as the ultimate remedy, a resort to the State Veto—or Nullification as it is commonly called. It was not, however, Mr. CALHOUN'S opinion that the remedy should be immediately applied. It was certain that Gen. Jackson and himself would be elected President and Vice President in a few months, for, as yet, war had not been openly declared against him—his support being essential to the success of the Jackson Party. He thought it prudent to await a full explanation of Gen. Jackson's "judicious tariff;" and was not without hope that, through his influence, the protective system might be broken down. Besides, the period was near at hand when the Public Debt would be discharged, and no shadow of reason would remain for imposing high duties for revenue purposes. But the first message of Gen. Jackson removed every doubt as to his policy, and shewed clearly that he meant to sustain the Tariff interest. He also produced a breach between himself and Mr. CALHOUN as soon as the prominent Executive appointments were confirmed, by reviving an old controversy supposed to have been settled many years before. It was evident that Mr. CALHOUN had been doomed from the moment he had definitely taken ground against the Protective System, and war was now made openly upon him.

Gen. Jackson did indeed denounce the Bank; and, early in his first term he vetoed the Maysville Bill, and proposed a limit to appropriations for Internal Improvement: a limit, however, that was uncertain and discretionary with the President, and soon abandoned by himself. At the same time, he suggested a monstrous scheme for the permanent distribution among the States of the surplus revenue arising from the imposts; thus clearly showing that he would uphold Protection, even after the payment of the Public Debt, and perpetuate the system forever by corrupting the States.

Seeing then that there was no hope of any change in the action of the Federal Government, in regard to the Tariff and its most objectionable cognate measures, the question as to what remedy a State could apply, was seriously agitated in South Carolina. Mr. CALHOUN proposed Nullification, and a considerable majority declared for it almost at once. But it required a vote of two-thirds in the Legislature to call a Convention to enact a Nullifying Ordinance. A warm and even bitter contest on this question was waged among the people of this

State, until the October election in 1832, when the requisite majority was obtained. Gov. Hamilton immediately summoned the Legislature to assemble—a Convention was called, and, in November of that year, all the Acts of Congress imposing duties, and especially the Acts of 1828 and 1832, were nullified and declared void, and of no effect in the State of South Carolina. The Tariff Act of 1832 was named, because as was customary every four years, the duties had been revised that year, and shortly before. They had been revised with special reference to the payment of the public debt, which was then virtually accomplished. The odious scheme of permanently distributing the surplus revenue had not been carried, though there was every prospect that it would be ultimately; but while the amount of revenue and average of duties were very slightly reduced, by a large increase of the free list, comprising articles most useful to the manufacturers, their particular interest was in fact much advanced, and the tariff rendered more unequal and more oppressive, than by the Act of 1828. Yet it was announced by all parties that this was a final and permanent adjustment of the protective system, and that the South could never expect any amelioration of it.

Mr. CALHOUN was still Vice President of the United States, but Gen. Hayne having been recalled from the Senate and placed in the Executive Chair at this crisis, Mr. CALHOUN was chosen in December to fill his place. Resigning his office, he took his seat in the Senate. Gen. Jackson had, immediately after the passage of the Ordinance, issued his famous Proclamation, denouncing the proceedings of South Carolina as treasonable, nullification as unconstitutional and revolutionary, and even denying, for the first time, I believe, in the history of the country, the right of a State to secede. In fact, his doctrines went the full length of negativing all State Rights, and consolidating despotic power in the hands of the Federal Government. And this was followed by a message to Congress, demanding to be clothed with almost unlimited power to carry his views into effect by force of arms. The crisis was perilous. We were apparently on the verge of civil war, for South Carolina, on these hostile demonstrations, flew to arms. It was expected generally that Mr. CALHOUN and most of the South Carolina Delegation would be arrested at Washington. But this was not done. A debate, however, arose in the Senate on the Bill embracing the recommendations of the President—commonly called the Force Bill—which will go down to future times and live an imperishable monument of the patriotism and courage—the wisdom and foresight, the genius and eloquence of Mr. CALHOUN. His speech is not surpassed by any

recorded in modern or in ancient times, not even by that of the great Athenian on the Crown.

This debate can never be read without its being seen, and felt, that Mr. Webster, his only opponent worthy to be named, gifted as he is universally acknowledged to be with talents of the highest order, and remarkable even more for his power of reasoning than for his brilliant declamation, was on this memorable occasion, a dwarf in a giant's grasp. He was prostrated on every ground that he assumed. And if logic, building on undoubted facts, can demonstrate any moral proposition, then Mr. CALHOUN made as clear as mathematical solution his theory of our Government and the right of each State to judge of infractions of the Constitution, and to determine the mode and measure of redress. When the dust of ages shall have covered alike the men, the passions and the interests of that day, this speech of Mr. CALHOUN will remain to posterity, not merely a triumphant vindication of the State of South Carolina, but a tower-light to shed the brightest, purest and truest rays on the path of every Confederacy of Free States that shall rise upon the earth.

It is not probable that State Interposition will ever again be resorted to while this Union continues. More decisive measures will be preferred. But if the Federal Government was created by a constitutional compact between Sovereign States, binding between those only that ratified it in Conventions: if only certain enumerated or defined powers were entrusted to it in its various departments, and all powers not granted to it, explicitly reserved to the States entering into the compact: and if that compact appointed no special tribunal to decide when the Government thus created transcended the powers granted to it, and trenched on those reserved by the States, it follows irresistibly that the States themselves must decide such questions: for if the Federal Government by any or all of its Departments assumes as an exclusive right this transcendent power, then is that Government sovereign over those by whom it was created—the conventions of the people of the States; the limits to its powers, supposed to have been fixed in the most sacred and binding form, were only suggestions addressed to its discretion, and the whole mass of rights suposed to have been reserved absolutely to the States, have no existence save from its grace and will. If, however, the States have by the virtue of their Sovereignty—and if it be historically true that at the time of each compact, each State was separately sovereign and remains so still,—then, if *each State* has a right to judge, in Convention, of infractions of the Constitution, it follows, with equal certainty, that such State must determine for itself

the mode and measure of resistance to be applied to such infraction, or the right itself is a nullity. Two modes only of resistance are to be found. The one, to withdraw altogether from the violated compact: the other to nullify the unconstitutional act and compel the Federal Government to repeal it, or obtain a new grant of power from another Convention of the States. The Federal Government, or two-thirds of the States, may call a Convention for that purpose. A single State cannot. It must therefore surrender, not only its reserved rights, but its entire Sovereignty, or resist if need be singly and independently, as South Carolina did.

In recommending Nullification to the State of South Carolina in preference to Secession, which, at that time it was almost universally agreed that a State had a clear right to resort to, Mr. CALHOUN was mainly influenced by that deep, long cherished, and I might almost say superstitious attachment to the Union which marked every act of his career from its commencement to its very close. For if there is one feature most prominent in Nullification as a remedial measure, it is that it is conservative of the Union—of that Constitutional Union, which is the only Union a patriot can desire to preserve. It was also recommended by the authority of the leaders and founders of the great Republican Party, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, who had proposed this identical measure to Virginia and Kentucky in the memorable crisis of 1798.

The Force Bill was passed, but was immediately nullified by South Carolina, and remains a dead letter in our State. In the meantime, however, both the Administration and opposition in Congress, had become alarmed, and introduced bills for reducing the Tariff, notwithstanding the loud declaration of finality by both at the preceding Session. Ultimately the famous Compromise Bill was proposed by Mr. Clay, the great leader of the Protectionists, and was accepted by Mr. CALHOUN and his colleagues from South Carolina. It became a law and settled this perilous controversy. By this act, and in consideration of nine years being allowed for a gradual reduction of the duties, the principle of Protection was forever surrendered, and it was provided that at the end of that period no more revenue should ever be collected than was necessary for the wants of an economical Government.

No pains have been spared by the majority to detract from the merit of the signal triumph achieved by South Carolina and Mr. CALHOUN in this arduous and memorable contest. More, undoubtedly, might have been gained. The term of the reduction was a long one: the final

enforcement of the Compromise was not, as was afterwards proven, sufficiently secured: and the Force Bill was passed—a monument of the subserviency and degradation of an American Congress. The triumph might have been more complete; but, shared with many, far less glorious, had South Carolina been sustained by her sister States of the South. Most of these had denounced the Protective System as unconstitutional and oppressive, and pledged themselves to resist it with as much show of indignation as South Carolina. But when the hour of actual conflict came, they shrunk from her side, and repudiated the remedy. She took her station in the breach alone, and, single-handed, won a victory whose renown can never fade, when she extorted from an overwhelming and arrogant majority—in the teeth of declarations but a few months old—a full surrender of the Protective principle, under sanction of a formal and peculiarly solemn act of Congress.

Mr. CALHOUN had now wholly devoted himself to the reformation of the Federal Government, and this first great step accomplished—although the struggle had so completely isolated him, that, out of the South Carolina delegation, he had scarcely a supporter in either House of Congress—he moved onwards in his course unbent and undismayed. His personal fortunes were apparently forever shipwrecked,

> ——— "But he beat the surges under him,
> And rode upon their backs."

His broad vision swept the whole circle of the political system, and he noted every plague spot of corruption on it. He made a powerful attack on Executive patronage in a Report to the Senate, of which an immense number of copies were printed by that body. He struck a fatal blow at Executive usurpation by demonstrating that all the discretionary powers are vested in Congress, and that the other Departments can do nothing "necessary and proper to carry out" their constitutional powers, without the previous sanction of the law. He kept a steady eye on the Surplus Revenue, which, from various causes, accumulated beyond all expectation, notwithstanding the reduction of duties under the Compromise Act. As this surplus must now be temporary, he thought it better to divide it among the States, than to keep it as a permanent fund, or to waste it in profligate and corrupting expenditures. It was a cardinal maxim with him to keep the Government poor. History shows that the most fatal vices of all Governments originate in the command of too much money. To lessen the unnecessary amount of revenue by curtailing expenditures, was an essential

feature of Mr. CALHOUN's great scheme of reform. He did not fail to oppose every improper appropriation, and defeated many; and finally succeeded in carrying his proposition to relieve the dangerous plethora of the Treasury, by depositing the Surplus with the States.

Some of the diseases of the Government Mr. CALHOUN thought it would be dangerous to heal too suddenly. One of these was the United States Bank, whose charter expired in 1836. Gen. Jackson had, in 1832, vetoed a recharter of it; and in October, 1833, he removed the Government funds from its coffers, and deposited them in the State Banks, without any authority from Congress.

Mr. CALHOUN condemned this high-handed and unconstitutional measure, and, believing that the Bank could not be closed immediately, without producing a financial convulsion—so completely had it brought the whole financial and mercantile system under its power—proposed to give it twelve years more to wind up its affairs. But he did not let the occasion pass, without clearly indicating his views of the Banking system. He said that the Government ought, at a proper time, to be entirely divorced from all connection with Banks. "I have great doubts," he said, "if doubts they may be called, of the soundness and tendency of the whole system, in all its modifications. I have great fears that it will be found hostile to liberty, and the advance of civilization—fatally hostile to liberty in our country, where the system exists in its worst and most dangerous form." His proposition failed, however, and the Bank fell headlong into ruin, dragging thousands of victims after it, and spreading deep gloom over the whole country. It is but just however, to say, that this disastrous catastrophe, which did not occur until some years later, was due more to its own violent and reckless efforts to extend its influence and operations, to maintain its existence, and to revenge its defeat, than to the measures of the Government, unfair as they had been.

Early in 1837, shortly after Mr. Van Buren's elevation to the Presidency, the financial crisis which Mr. CALHOUN had long predicted, came. In the crash, the Banks suspended payments almost every where, and among them the deposit Banks. By a joint resolution introduced by Mr. CALHOUN in 1816, the notes of suspended Banks could not be received into the Treasury, and by a clause in the recent Deposit Act, such Banks could not be used as Fiscal Agents. Thus, suddenly, and in a most unexpected manner, the divorce between the Government and Banks was fully effected; and believing that no injury could now result from keeping them separate forever, Mr. CALHOUN cordially and powerfully supported Mr. Van Buren's recommendation, at the Extra

Session of 1837, to re-organize the Treasury Department on the Sub-Treasury plan. To the Bill introduced, Mr. CALHOUN moved an amendment, that specie only should be received in public dues, and made this the *sine qua non* of his support. After many defeats and great difficulties in a contest that lasted six or seven years, this Sub-Treasury system, with the specie feature, finally prevailed, and has been found to work admirably. It has put an end to every prospect of the re-charter of an United States Bank, and that once alarming source of danger to our Institutions, may be said to be extinct.

For the part which Mr. CALHOUN took on this occasion, he was subjected to a new and tremendous torrent of abuse and calumny. His course, since 1833, had led him to act mostly with the opposition, who were endeavoring to check the march of Executive usurpation. This opposition was composed chiefly of the surviving Federalists, and the recruits they had made from time to time, and now assumed the name of the Whig party, and on this very question received a large accession of State Rights men, and even Nullifiers, whose attachments and hostilities to men, and to subordinate measures, blinded them apparently to principles. With all these Mr. CALHOUN parted, when he took his ground in favor of the Sub-Treasury. He was charged with deserting his party though he had refused openly in the Senate to be called a Whig, and had, again and again, declared that he did not belong to either of the leading parties, but would act indifferently with whichever might be promoting his views of the Constitution and true policy of the country. The charge of inconsistency, now so warmly urged against him, had been incessantly reiterated from 1828, and was continued, more or less, to the hour of his death. It is surprising, that, in an enlighted age like this, such narrow notions of consistency should so extensively prevail. The situation of public affairs is ever shifting, and the wise and patriotic Statesman must necessarily vary his own course to conform to, or oppose every altered state of circumstances. New truths are daily developed, not only in the scientific world, but in the working of political systems, and especially in our own. Those only who are ignorant of these discoveries, can remain without change in their opinions; and to change opinions, and not avow and act upon them, is to be basely and dangerously false. Cicero, when accused of inconsistency in having sided with almost every party to which the convulsions of his times had given birth, fully admitted the fact, but nobly vindicated himself by showing, that, in every change, he had in view one consistent object—the good of Rome. Thus Cato, after years of warm hostility to Pompey, advised his countrymen to put all power into

his hands. Thus Aristides volunteered to serve under Themistocles; thus Solon became the counsellor of Pisistratus, who had overthrown his Constitution. Mr. CALHOUN himself, as long ago as his speech on the repeal of the Embargo, had very properly defined inconsistency to be "a change of conduct without a change of circumstances to justify it." Tried by this standard, he was never liable to any imputation of inconsistency. He never moved, in any direction, without giving such cogent reasons for it, as must satisfy every impartial mind, if not of the propriety, at least, of the reality of his convictions. Influenced by the highest and most patriotic considerations, and scorning the false and vulgar cry of inconsistency, he did not hesitate a moment in magnanimously extending the thorough and effective support of his powerful intellect, in the hour of their greatest need, to the man who had been, he believed, his most zealous enemy, and to the party which had excluded him from its ranks with the most violent anathemas.

He was now gladly welcomed back; and in the high and commanding position in the Republican party, which, through the severest trials, he had a second time won for himself, it is difficult to over-estimate what he might have achieved, had that party been able to sustain itself in power at that time. But the name of Mr. Van Buren was not associated in the minds of the people with any brilliant talents or illustrious services. Magician, as he was said to be among his partisans, he could cast no spell upon the masses, excited by the wide spread financial troubles of the times, all of which were naturally attributed by the ignorant, and not without much justice, to the errors and corruptions of the party then in power. He was overthrown in the election of 1840, and the Whigs came into the Presidency with a majority in both Houses of Congress. An extra Session was immediately called and held in the spring of 1841, but, before it met, Gen. Harrison died, and the Vice President, Mr. Tyler, who, fortunately for the country, though a Whig, had been bred a State Rights Republican, succeeded to the vacant Chair.

The Whigs, elated with victory, rushed to Washington, resolved to secure all its fruits without delay. Banks, Tariffs, Distributions of Revenue, the most prodigal expenditures for individual and sectional benefit, and Bankrupt Laws, to wipe off the embarrassment of past extravagance and speculation, swam in delightful confusion before their excited vision. Measures were promptly brought forward, and pressed on the minority with unequalled energy and arrogance. Mr. CALHOUN was the leader of the Republican party in the Senate. He penetrated every design, and met every movement of the Whigs. To all the measures that could not be defeated, conditions were proposed and sustained

with such unanswerable arguments, that the re-action of public opinion compelled the majority to pause, to waver, and finally give way: and the close of that Session, which had been called by the Whigs to consolidate their power, found them not only a dispirited, but virtually a defeated party; results which were due in a great measure, to the activity and firmness, the powerful logic and profound Statesmanship of Mr. CALHOUN.

In that Session, however, and the two succeeding, during which the Whigs remained in power, several unconstitutional and dangerous measures were forced through. The Bankrupt law which was soon repealed. The distribution of Revenue, arising from sales of public lands, which expired under the condition imposed on it. The re-charter of the Bank which was vetoed by Mr. Tyler. The Tariff Act of 1842, which was equally stringent with that of 1828. This Act, which was passed in open violation of the Compromise of 1833—a violation which should forever put an end to all faith in Legislative Compromises by Congress, was justified on the ground that a larger revenue was indispensable to the Government. A justification deliberately prepared before hand by the unconstitutional distribution of a portion of the Revenue, and the prodigal expenditures which so many corrupt interests had fastened on the Government.

A resort to State action to resist this oppressive act, was again proposed by some in South Carolina. But Mr. CALHOUN resisted it, because he believed that the next Congressional Elections would bring the Republicans into power, and that they would repeal the law. They obtained majorities, but did not repeal; and in 1844 a more strenuous effort was made to excite State interposition. But Mr. CALHOUN resisted still. There was one hope left. The approaching election for President would give the Republicans complete control of the Federal Government, and he desired to await that event. The fact was, that after the experience of 1833,—the consolidation principle then avowed by all parties and the growing alienations of the different sections since,—he believed the Union could not survive the decisive resistance of a State on points of vital interest, and his attachment to it was so deep that he was averse to putting it to hazard, while any reasonable hope was left of redress by other means. A Republican President was elected, and in 1846 the Tariff of 1842 was so materially modified as to forbid extreme resistance. But after all the struggles of more than a quarter of a century, the Protective System, though somewhat weakened in opinion and narrowed in action, still flourishes in violation of every principle of free and equal Government—a gross infraction of the Constitution, and a deadly injury to the South.

During the Session of 1843, Mr. CALHOUN again strikingly displayed his devotion to his country and the impossibility of surrendering his serious convictions and his patriotic sense of duty to party considerations, by strenuously and successfully opposing in common with the Whigs, a proposition from the Republican ranks to take possession of the whole of Oregon, without necessity, under doubtful title, and at imminent hazard of a war with England. At the close of that Session he resigned his seat in the Senate, and retired from public life.

His health, which, although his constitution had been considered diseased and ultimately proved to be so, had been almost perfect throughout his long service, began now to exhibit some symptoms of decay. And well it might: and well might he be wearied out. For ten—in fact for fourteen successive years—he had been engaged in a contest that taxed to their utmost all his physical and mental powers. Body and spirit, he had devoted himself without a moment's respite to the arduous and perilous task of restoring a violated Constitution and a corrupted Government. It had been one long, raging storm, with scarce a single intermission. A storm such as none but the most hopeful and the bravest would have dared to defy, and in which none but the most prudent, the most hardy, the most skilful—endowed with the rarest intellect, strengthened by every resource upon which genius can make a requisition, and held to the encounter by an unconquerable will—could have outrode a second blast. But he stood in the centre of the vortex, unblenched, immovable

> "As a tower, that firmly set,
> Shakes not its top for any wind that blows."

For the first time a clear expanse was now visible above the political horizon. The Federalists, tracked through all their disguises, were again beaten to the ground. They lay prostrate, and the Republicans, after the salutary experience of a great reverse and many years of desperate warfare, all brought on by their own departure from the Constitution, were about to resume, in full, the reins of power, made wiser not only by the events of the past, but by the brilliant light which his clear and profound intellect had shed and concentrated around the principles of Constitutional Government; and Mr. CALHOUN, with the entire approbation of his friends, seized this apparently propitious moment to retire and recruit after his long and arduous labors.

The State of South Carolina in May, 1843, nominated Mr. CALHOUN for the Presidency. But in December following he withdrew his name,

when it became apparent that the Convention to be held at Baltimore to nominate the candidate of the whole Republican party, was not to be constituted on principles analogous to the Constitution. He could not, with his views, accept a nomination, if tendered, by a Convention formed in any other manner, and he did not wish to embarrass the party from mere personal considerations. He was not permitted, however, to enjoy his repose for any length of time. In the spring of 1844 he was nominated as Secretary of State by Mr. Tyler, without his previous knowledge; and the nomination being instantly and unanimously confirmed, he could not do otherwise than obey the call. Two critical and eminently important negotiations were then on foot. One to adjust the Oregon question with England—the other to secure the annexation of Texas. In the latter his success was complete, and to him perhaps more than to any other, we owe that important and invaluable acquisition. The Oregon negotiation was not closed when Mr. Polk came into office. He did not tender Mr. CALHOUN the re-appointment as Secretary, but offered and urged on him an Embassy to England, to continue that negotiation. But believing his post of duty was, if any where, on this side of the Atlantic, he declined the Embassy and returned once more to his Plantation.

In the hands of Mr. CALHOUN's successor, the Oregon negotiations completely failed. The President was pledged by his party to claim the whole of the Territory, and the fulfilment of that pledge was now demanded. Should Congress sustain the claim war was inevitable, and as the Republican Party had majorities in both Houses, there seemed to be no escape. The whole country became alarmed. In this exciting crisis, the eyes of all parties, all interests, all classes, were turned instinctively to Mr. CALHOUN—the pilot who had weathered so many storms—the sagacious and patriotic Statesman who had been found equal to every emergency. His return to the Federal Councils was called for from every quarter, and his successor in the Senate, Judge Huger, with a rare magnanimity, offered to give way for him. There was no resisting such appeals, and Mr. CALHOUN returned to Washington late in December, 1846. When he took his seat, it was fully understood that the Executive, backed by a majority in Congress, was resolved to assert our right to the whole of Oregon, and to attempt to take immediate possession of it, that the opposition was paralyzed in despair. He did not lose a moment in taking a clear, decided and open stand against the Administration he had contributed so largely to bring into power. He rallied the dispirited opposition, composed chiefly of Whigs, with whom he had lately been so violently contend-

ing. He appealed to the country against the Republican Party. The sound common sense of the people sustained him: and the tide of public opinion set in so strongly in favor of a compromise with England, that negotiations were resumed with fresh vigor, and in a few months the whole question was adjusted to the entire satisfaction of the great body of every party in the two countries. In his whole public career, Mr. CALHOUN had never rendered a more conspicuous—perhaps never a more substantial service to his country; and it was appreciated and acknowledged throughout the Union. To him, and almost to him alone, was justly and universally accredited the distinguished merit of having saved the United States from a war with the most powerful nation in the world, about a matter so insignificant as to be almost frivolous, and in which neither the honor nor the interests of either were seriously involved. Thousands of such wars disfigure the pages of history, and have often been the most bloody and disastrous.

But this affair had hardly been placed in a sure train of settlement before another difficulty arose, in appearance far less formidable, but in its results likely to prove much the most important in our annals, since the Revolution. A sudden, and to the great body of our people, most unexpected war broke out with Mexico. Pending negotiations with that Republic concerning the western boundary of Texas, a portion of our Army had been, contrary to the usual courtesy of nations, marched into the disputed Territory. The Mexicans attacked it. Battles ensued, and a flame was kindled, which spread instantaneously over both countries. Congress was called on to declare, or rather to recognize the existence of war, and to make the most extensive provisions for its vigorous prosecution. Mr. CALHOUN did not hesitate to take his stand against the war. He condemned the invasion of disputed territory, but as it had been done and battles fought, he was for voting such supplies as would enable our army to maintain its position, and without recognizing a state of war, to renew negotiations. But he stood alone—literally alone—abandoned by all parties in the Senate. Yet he did not waver. He knew that peace was the fundamental policy of our country, that war was disastrous to all its real interests, and was only to be waged to maintain that most vital of all interests—its honor. And that could never be involved in a contest with so weak a power as Mexico. He saw, too, that all his hopes of reforming the Government and resuscitating the Constitution must vanish when the sword was drawn. Other fatal consequences were also apparent to his keen vision. But he could not see all. No human sagacity could penetrate them then, or can penetrate them now. Mr. CALHOUN

declared that though he foresaw much evil, for the first time in his whole public life, he could not form a rational conjecture of the end—that an impenetrable curtain had fallen betwixt him and the future. For the first time, too, he was sunk in gloom. And that great heart, which had never before felt fear, was stricken with terror—almost with despair. Hostilities were carried on with vigor. Victory crowned every effort of our arms; and an imperishable wreath of military glory was won for our flag—South Carolina contributing some of the brightest and most unfading flowers. Mr. CALHOUN steadily interposed on every opportune occasion to arrest the progress of the war, brilliant as it was; and hailed with delight the Treaty of Peace, which was ratified early in 1848.

The first important consequence of the war was an immense expenditure,—far exceeding the ordinary revenues, and entailing on the country a heavy debt, which has put an end to all prospect of an early reduction of the Protective Duties. The next was the overthow of the political party which conducted it, by the elevation of one of its successful Generals to the Presidency. An event not due so much to the errors committed by the one, or the wisdom and patriotism displayed by the other party, as to the disgust felt by a large portion of the people for both, and their desire to establish for once an administration that would not be governed by party considerations—a desire which has been altogether disappointed. The third great consequence of the war has been the unparalelled excitement occasioned by the attempt and failure to make a fair division between the Slaveholding and non-Slaveholding sections of the confederacy, of the immense territory acquired from Mexico—an excitement in the midst of which we now are, and the result of which it is not given us to foresee.

I have omitted thus far to do more than incidentally allude to a question of the highest and most vital interest, which has long and deeply agitated our country, in the conduct of which Mr. CALHOUN has acted throughout a conspicuous and leading part. At the period of the Declaration of Independence, African Slavery was established in every Colony, and as late as the formation of the Constitution, Slaves were still held in every State. But it was a decaying institution every where save in the Plantation States, and great apprehensions existed among the Southern members of the Convention that the other States would combine to emancipate all the Slaves immediately, or gradually.

They therefore refused absolutely to enter into any union with them without a distinct agreement on this essential matter. One great object in so constructing the Federal Government that it should have

no powers not clearly conferred upon it, reserving all others to the States, was to prevent legislation on this subject. But beyond this the Southern Delegates required a Constitutional obligation from all the other States, to assist them in maintaining their authority over their Slaves, in case of necessity, by restoring fugitives and aiding to put down insurrections. They also demanded a recognition of Slaves as a permanent element of political power and a fixed caste, by assigning them a representation, though a restricted one, in Congress. From the adoption of the Constitution up to 1819, the harmony between the North and South was never for a moment seriously disturbed by the Slave question. At that period, when Missouri applied for admission into the Union, the North, where African Slavery was now almost wholly extinct, opposed her application, on the ground that Slaveholding was permitted by her Constitution. A deeply exciting controversy immediately arose, which was finally adjusted by the concession from the South that thereafter no Slaveholding State should be admitted into the Union North of 36° 30′ N. latitude.

For many years after this contest there was no open agitation of this exciting topic, and public men in every section generally concurred in frowning upon all attempts to bring it forward. It was not until 1834 or '35, that it again made its appearance on the political stage, when petitions were poured in upon Congress to legislate upon it. It was then discovered that without attracting much attention, a great many Abolition Societies had been formed in the Northern States, who had set up presses and printed books, pamphlets, newspapers and engravings in immense numbers, and disseminated them North and South for the purpose of arousing the people to what were termed the horrors of African Slavery. Public lecturers were also employed and sent every where. The excitement increased rapidly. The people of the non-Slaveholding States seemed ripe for it. But lately they had been apparently baffled in their attempt to make us the overseers of our Slaves for their benefit. No longer having it in prospect to reap the harvest of our fields and gather into their own granaries, by virtue of their legislation, one-half of their nett produce of the labor of the Slaves, they were eager, in their rage and disappointment to deprive us of the Slaves themselves, and blast our prosperity forever. Both branches of Congress were soon flooded with petitions, full of the vilest abuse and slander of the South, and praying for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. Others followed asking the Abolition of Slavery in the Territories, Forts, Dockyards, &c., and of the trade between the States. Some demanded the Abolition of Slavery

in the States; and finally it was petitioned that the Union should be dissolved to save the North from the sin of Slaveholding. Warm, and at length, the most angry debates in Congress were brought about by these petitions. At first, few or none professed to be in favor of them, yet the non-Slaveholding majority never would permit the South to adopt any decisive measure to exclude them from the Halls of Congress. In no long while, however, there was a complete change. The Abolitionists were soon strong enough to enter fully into the political field. They nominated candidates for President and Vice-President, and exhibited the startling fact, that, in that election, they held the balance of power between the parties in several of the largest States. From that moment they were courted, openly or secretly, by nearly every aspiring politician in the non-Slaveholding States. They soon sent members to Congress as their especial Representatives, and struck down every public man in the North who dared to defend the institutions of the South.

Against this violent crusade on the South, Mr. CALHOUN took his stand at the very first and combatted it with all his powers, at every step, and to the latest moment of his life. He succeeded in arresting the circulation of Abolition publications through the mail, and for a long time he kept their petitions at the threshold of the Houses of Congress. In fact, Abolition petitions were formally received in the Senate for the first time, on the last day that he appeared there. From the beginning he predicted the progress of this agitation through all its stages, and declared that it must inevitably bring about a dissolution of the Union, if not put down early and forever.

While the Abolitionists have directed their attacks against specific parts of the Slave system, they have never made any secret of what indeed was perfectly apparent, that, from the first, their object was the entire emancipation of all the African race in the United States, without removal and without compensation to their owners; since removal or compensation are known to be utterly impossible. They proclaimed that by the laws of nature all men are free and equal; and that African Slavery is a social and political evil, and a deadly sin against God. Mr. CALHOUN contended that if our Slavery was a social evil and sin, we alone would be the sufferers and should be allowed to deal with it ourselves. Politically he claimed for it only the fulfilment of the solemn guarantees of the Constitution. But he thought it could not be a sin since God had expressly ordained it, nor an evil since both the white and black races had improved in every point of view under the system. He scouted the idea of natural freedom and equality. Men were born

helpless, and owed life, liberty, and everything to those who nurtured them. A state of complete natural liberty was inconceivable. Even the wildest savages placed severe restraints upon it. And so far from men being created equal, no two men, and in fact no two things, were ever yet created precisely equal. Inequality is the fundamental law of nature, and hence alone the harmony of the universe. But it was useless to attempt to reason with enthusiastic Abolitionists, or with the masses of the non-Slaveholders, equally bigoted in their abstract notions of morality, freedom, and equality. It was still more useless to attempt to reason with politicians who existed only in the breath of such a people. A majority influenced by such ideas, and led on, some by a fanatical zeal to enforce what they believed to be truth, others by the love of power, and all by the hope of spoil, has never yet been effectually checked except by force.

It has not, however, yet become the plan of the Abolitionists to carry their purposes by a direct and decisive exertion of the political power they possess. They wish first to acquire a more overwhelming power, both political and physical. And, to effect this they have aimed steadily to enlarge their own domain and to narrow down that of the Slaveholders, while they have endeavored to divide the South by appeals to the consciences of all, and to the supposed interests of the non-Slaveholders among us. And the two great political parties of the North have skilfully aided them in dividing and lulling the South for the purpose of keeping up their own connections with their respective allies here. They have united in denouncing, and have taught many to denounce as ultraists, disunionists, and traitors, all those who have attempted to awaken the Southern people to a sense of the dangers that environed them. And more did they denounce than all the rest Mr. CALHOUN, whose sagacity could not be deluded, whose virtue was incorruptible, and whose constant exposure of their designs and effective opposition to them, was apparently the greatest obstacle to their success. Listening to no compromises, and snapping instantly every party tie where this transcendent question was involved, he waged mortal combat on every issue, open or concealed. The great difficulty with the Abolitionists was to identify their cause with some of the great practical political questions of the country. The pretended infringement of the much abused right of petition could not be made to serve them materially, for it was too absurd to contend that Congress was bound to receive and treat respectfully all sorts of petitions—petitions frivolous, unconstitutional, and destructive of law, order, and society. When the annexation of Texas was brought forward, they fastened upon that mea-

sure and opposed it with great zeal and much effect, upon the ground that it extended the area of Slavery. But there were too many interests even in the North in favor of annexation, and Mr. CALHOUN was enabled to defeat them signally. But when the Mexican war was declared, a new and vast field was opened to them. It was certain that a large territory would be gained by that war: and it was scarcely begun before it was moved in Congress and carried in the House, and almost carried in the Senate, to prohibit Slavery in the domain that might be acquired.

The alarm was immediately sounded, and the South appeared for once to be fully roused. A number of Southern States declared through their Legislatures that if this Prohibition was enacted they would not submit to it. While, on the other hand, a still larger number of Northern States made Legislative declarations in favor of it, and instructed their Senators to support it. Thus, at length, the Abolition question, always purely sectional, became again, as in the case of Missouri, but under far more ominous circumstances, the chief element in the most important practical political issue of the day. From 1846 up to near the close of the late memorable Session of Congress, this contest was carried on in various forms with deepening import, until at length it entirely absorbed the public mind, and occupied the Federal Government to the almost total exclusion of all other business. Early in the last Session it came up on the proposition to admit California into the Union. A band of adventurers having assembled in that distant region in unknown numbers, and, to a great extent, of unknown origin—scarcely any with legal titles to lands, and still fewer with fixed residences—after calling a Convention without proper authority, formed a government and demanded admission, as a Sovereign State, into the Union, with boundaries embracing the whole Pacific coast to Oregon, and a Constitution, which, for the express purpose of securing the support of the non-Slaveholding majority, prohibited Slavery.

Mr. CALHOUN'S health, which had been failing rapidly for a few years past, had at length become so feeble that it was evident to his friends he could not long survive; and during the previous summer it was considered scarcely possible that he could return again to Washington. To almost any other man it would have been impossible. But when he saw the great battle which he had so long led, had reached, as he believed, its final crisis: and that the fate of his country hung on the momentous movement which was about to be made, he discarded all thoughts of self-preservation, and hastened to the field, resolved to spend his last breath in striking one more blow for the great cause of the South—the cause of Justice and the Constitution.

Arrived at Washington, his health was so feeble that he was soon compelled to remain most of his time at his lodgings, and went only occasionally to the Senate. In the meanwhile the conflict went fiercely on; and numerous plans for adjusting it were set afloat. Mr. CALHOUN committed his views to paper, and on the 4th of March, after a long interval, appeared with it in the Senate. But he was not able even to read it, and transferred the task to his friend, Mr. Mason, a Senator from Virginia. In that speech he traced the territorial history of the United States, showing that the non-Slaveholding States, who originally owned but one-fourth of the territory of the Union, were about to succeed, by the action of the Government and the concessions of the South, in getting possession of nearly three-fourths of it: that, by the system of revenue and expenditure which had been adopted, much the larger portion of the taxes were paid by the South, while the disbursements were made chiefly at the North: and that, while these measures destroyed the equilibrium between the two sections, the Federal Government had concentrated all power in itself, and interpreted the Constitution and ruled the country according to the will of a majority, responsible only to the Northern section, by which it is elected. The result of all, he said, was that "what was once a Constitutional Federal Republic, is now converted in reality into one as absolute as that of the Autocrat of Russia, and as despotic in its tendencies as any absolute Government that ever existed." He showed that the California adventurers had no right to attempt to form a State without previous permission from Congress, and that what they had done was "revolutionary and rebellious in its character, anarchical in its tendency, and calculated to lead to the most dangerous consequences." He gave a succinct history of Abolition from its origin; shewed how it had gained strength year by year, and declared that "if something decisive was not now done to arrest it, the South would be forced to choose between Emancipation and Secession." He denounced the childish idea of preserving the Union by continually crying "Union! Union! the glorious Union!" and expressed his conviction that there was no other way to save it, but by an amendment to the Constitution, "which would restore to the South in substance the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the two sections was destroyed by the action of the Government."

No speech ever pronounced in Congress produced a more profound sensation there and in the country than this did. The deep and incalculable importance of the questions in issue; and the fact that this was generally regarded as the last effort of an illustrious statesman, who had, for almost half a century, led in the councils of the Confederacy, scarcely

heightened the intensity of the interest created by the novel and startling, yet sound and prophetic views which had been developed with a force and clearness rarely equalled. Mr. CALHOUN himself intended it rather as a preliminary speech. He still hoped that he could, by his iron will, baffle and repel the advances of disease, and that God would spare him to consummate this last task. He had only laid down his groundwork, and reserved ample materials for reply, after all had exhibited their positions, and his had been sufficiently attacked. He did not even announce what amendments to the Constitution he intended to propose. Whatever they were—for he afterwards said that several were necessary—the suggestion of them manifested his undiminished anxiety for the preservation of a Constitutional Union; and the latest offering of his life was laid upon that altar at which he had so long worshipped. It is scarcely to be regretted that he did not specify them, for nothing is more certain than that no amendments to the Constitution can ever be carried, that will give the South the express power of self-protection. They would not receive a single vote from that Northern majority, which will ere long be large enough to amend the Constitution without the South, if it shall choose to regard forms in perpetrating its oppressions. But such amendments, if passed, would not avail the South, for her action under them would soon be denounced as revolutionary, as the clearly Constitutional right of Secession is now denounced.

In fact, neither this Union nor any Union or Government can exist long by virtue of mere paper stipulations. "Written constitutions," said Anacharsis to Solon, "are but spiders webs, which hold only the poor and weak, while the rich and powerful easily break through." Solon thought otherwise, but lived to see the Government he established completely overthrown. Lycurgus, more wise, forbade written laws. His principles were durably impressed, by training from childhood, on the minds and manners of his people, and interwoven with the whole social fabric. And they governed the Spartans for six centuries or more. In modern France no enacted Constitution has survived five years; while the Constitution of England, resting on traditions and occasional Acts and Charters, appears to bid defiance to time and progress. Those Governments only can endure which spring naturally from the social system, and are habitually sustained by it. And written—artificial constitutions are indeed but "spiders webs" if they do not continually draw their vital breath from the same living source. For more than twenty years the Federal Constitution has been a dead letter, or a snare to the minority. It has, for that length of time, had no material influence in maintaining the Union of these States. They

have been held together by habit—by the recollections of the past and a common reverence for the patriots and heroes of the Revolution—by the ties of political parties, of religious sects, and business intercourse. But the events of these twenty years, and mainly the developments of Abolitionism, have clearly revealed to us that we have at least two separate, distinct, and, in some essential points, antagonistic social systems, whose differences can never be reconciled and subjected to one equal and just Government, unless our respective industrial interests are left free from every shackle, and the fell spirit of Abolitionism crushed and entirely eradicated. Many of the cords which once bound these two systems together have been, as Mr. CALHOUN pointed out in his last speech, already snapped asunder. The religious bonds have been nearly all ruptured—party ties are going fast—those of business are seriously endangered. It is vain to hope to preserve the Union by any common sentiment of reverence for the past, or even by amending the Constitution, unless these severed chains can be relinked together, and that brotherly love, which mingled the blood of our fathers in the battle-fields of the Revolution, can be restored, by Providential interposition, to its ancient fervor. It is, however, the province and the sacred duty of the statesman, whatever may be the ultimate result, to point out the diseases of the Constitution and the Government, and to propose the best remedies he can. This was the great object of Mr. CALHOUN for the last two and twenty years of his career. For this he lived—and to this his last efforts and his latest thoughts were consecrated.

Consecrated in vain! for already the disease has passed a fatal crisis, and there is no longer a remedy that can save. California has been admitted and the equilibrium of the Government has been destroyed forever. The edict has gone forth that no new slaveholding State shall ever enter the Union: and the South, deprived at last, and finally of her equality in the Senate, the only safe hold she ever had in this Confederacy, and from which she has so long and so nobly battled for her rights, is now condemned to a minority that can know no change, in every department of the Federal Government. The Slaveholding States have become emphatically the Provinces of a great empire, ruled by a permanent sectional majority, unrelentingly hostile to them, and daring as it is despotic. If they submit to continue thus, their history is already written in the chronicles of Poland, of Hungary, and of Ireland—perhaps of St. Domingo and Jamaica.

After the 4th of March, Mr. CALHOUN went but two or three times to the Senate Chamber. His last appearance there was on the 13th of that month; and as if the political storms which had pursued him so

long were fated to pursue him to the last, he had on that day a warm debate, in which he was compelled to maintain the expediency of his proposition to amend the Constitution; and to defend himself from the charge of aiming to dissolve the Union. He retired exhausted, and returned no more. But still his thoughts were there, and his anxious interest for his distracted country lent its excitement to every pulsation of his heart. "If I could have," he said, as his end drew near, "If I could have one hour more to speak in the Senate, I could do more good than on any past occasion of my life."

He expired tranquilly on the morning of the 31st of March.

The deep and poignant grief which pervaded our State on the announcement of this event, although it was not unexpected, I will not attempt to depict. Your own hearts retain and cherish a recollection of it more vivid and more durable than could be recalled or impressed by any words of mine. The same feelings seemed to penetrate almost every portion of the Union. Since the death of Washington, no similar event, it is generally agreed, has produced a sensation so profound and universal. Envy and malice, sectional hostility and party persecution, seemed to be instantly extinguished. His real greatness was at once fully acknowledged, and all united in paying the highest honors to his memory.

Mr. CALHOUN'S moral character, as exhibited to the public, was of the Roman stamp. Lofty in his sentiments, stern in his bearing, inflexible in his opinions, there was no sacrifice he would not have made without a moment's hesitation, and few that he did not make to his sense of duty and his love of country. As a Consul, he would have been a Publicola,—as a Censor, Cato—as a Tribune, Gracchus. He was often denounced for his ambition, but his integrity was never questioned. "Ambition is," as Mr. Burke justly said, "the malady of every extensive genius." Mr. CALHOUN'S enemies believed that it infected him to an extraordinary and dangerous degree. But the enemies of every distinguished man have said the same. He undoubtedly desired power. But there is no evidence to be found, either in his conduct or in his words, that he ever stooped to any mean compliance to obtain it, or that when obtained, he ever used it but in the purest manner and for the welfare of his whole country. The nature of his ambition was well tested. Eight years Vice President: for as long a period a Minister of State; six years in the House of Representatives, and fifteen in the Senate of the United States, he enjoyed all the power of the highest offices of our Government save the very highest, and that he would in all human probability have attained, but that his aspirations

were subordinate to his principles, and these led him to repudiate his party, and throw himself into opposition to its corruptions when it was at the zenith of its power.

That he did not reach the Presidency, and that no other statesman of the first rank has had the slightest prospect of reaching it for the last five and twenty years, are among the most striking proofs of the downward tendency of our Federal Institutions.

In private life Mr. CALHOUN was remarkably accessible. Open, unsuspicious, mild in his manners and uniformly warm, cheerful, and hopeful, he was interesting, instructive and agreeable to all who had the happiness to know him. While in every domestic relation his conduct approached as near perfection as we can suppose human nature capable of doing.

The intellect of Mr. CALHOUN was cast in the Grecian mould: intuitive, profound, original—descending to the minutest details of practical affairs; and soaring aloft with balanced wing into the highest heaven of invention. He appreciated wit and humor, the flights of fancy and the keen shafts of sarcasm; but he either did not possess or entirely failed to cultivate the faculties which lead to distinction in these lines. He admired and valued high-toned declamation on appropriate occasions; and sometimes, though rarely, attempted it himself, and not without success. The force of his imagination, his command of language, his nobility of sentiment, and his enthusiastic temperament eminently qualified him for declamation of the highest order, and his themes were as well adapted to it as those of Demosthenes himself. But the audience to which he commonly addressed himself could not hear his voice or see his action, or decide his cause under the spell of eloquence. It covered millions of square miles, and reached far down the stream of time. And his keen judgment and deep earnestness would not often permit him to use weapons that could reach effectively those only who were near at hand. The intellectual power of Mr. CALHOUN was due mainly to the facility and accuracy with which he resolved propositions into their elementary principles; and the astonishing rapidity with which he deduced from these principles all their just and necessary consequences. The moment a sophism was presented to him he pierced it through and through, and plunging into the labyrinth, brought truth from the remote recesses where she delights to dwell, and placed her in her native simplicity before the eyes of men. It was in these pre-eminent faculties that Mr. CALHOUN'S mind resembled the antique and particularly the genuine Greek mind, which recoiled from plausibilities and looked with ineffable disgust on that mere grouping of associated ideas which so

generally passes for reasoning. It was in conformity with these great intellectual endowments that he created all his speeches and State papers. It was commonly said of his productions that they were characterized by extraordinary condensation. But Mr. CALHOUN was often careless in his diction, and habitually so in the construction of his sentences. He sought only the words that most clearly expressed his meaning, and left their arrangement apparently to chance. What he did do was to go straight to the bottom of his subject, following the slender plummet line of truth until he reached it. Then he built up in a manner equally direct, discarding all extraneous materials: and erected a structure, simple, uniform and consistent, decorated with no ornament for the sake of ornament, and occupying no more space than was necessary for the purposes in view.

The faculty of Invention—which is the highest characteristic of genius—is the necessary result of rapid and correct analysis and synthesis. To the possession of these powers then is also due the acknowledged originality of Mr. CALHOUN, which gave such a peculiar charm to every one of his productions, as led the public invariably to pronounce his latest to be the best. The common mind never looks beneath the surface, and draws its conclusions from the facts and arguments that float around it. Even rather uncommon minds seldom penetrate very deep or very quickly. From whatever subject, therefore, upon which such extraordinary powers of analysis and generalization were brought to bear, they would necessarily extract ideas lying far beyond the range of others, and so new and startling as to overwhelm ordinary intellects and obliterate their confused remembrances of past productions, in which he had carried them delighted through equally unaccustomed regions.

Hence, also, arose and was received the charge, worn thread-bare by reiteration, that Mr. CALHOUN'S mind was too metaphysical and speculative for conducting the affairs of Government. A charge which, if it was not absurd in itself, was signally refuted by his conduct of the War, by his organization of the War Department, by his negotiations as Secretary of State, by his frequent minute, and accurate, and powerful elucidations of all the financial, commercial, manufacturing and agricultural operations of the country—in short, by the whole course of his labors from the commencement to the close of his career. It was the remarkable characteristic of the Greek mind, now too little appreciated, to be at once practical and speculative, as in fact it ever has been of all really great minds. In the palmiest days of Greece, her Philosophers were Statesmen, her Poets and Historians were Warriors.

The Astronomer who first predicted an eclipse made a fortune by dealing in olives. To a successful Usurper we owe the collection of the scattered songs of Homer. The mere practitioner is necessarily a quack in medicine, a pettifogger in law, and a charlatan in politics.

The colloquial powers of Mr. CALHOUN have been highly lauded. There is a mistake in this. Strictly speaking he had no uncommon endowment in that line. It is true that he entered readily and easily into any conversation, and there were few subjects on which he did not throw new light, or at least dissipate some of the darkness that might surround them. But he exhibited no sparkling wit, no keen retort, none of that liveliness of fancy which so delightfully season and refine familiar conversation. Nor was he anything of a *raconteur*. All these things he occasionally enjoyed with much zest, but rarely attempted them himself. The conversation in which he really shone was but a modified species of Senatorial debate. And, in that, no one approached to an equality with him. In the Senate, where time is given for preparation and the conflict of intellect is conducted for the most part, like a cannonade, by heavy discharges at considerable intervals, his opponents might make a show of vigorous combat with him. But in the close encounter of informal discussion, there was no one who could stand before him. The astonishing rapidity of his intellectual operations enabled him to anticipate every proposition before it was half stated, to resolve it into all its parts, and not only to answer his opponent without an instant's hesitation, but to take up his whole train of argument, run through it in advance of him, and so turn all his points as to convince or at least to silence him. At these times there was a fascination about him which none could resist. It was not merely his warmth, his earnestness, his deep sincerity that charmed, but his reasoning—commencing so far back, and disentangling the first elements, the facts and principles —moved forward with such simplicity and ease; such clearness and connection; with a sweep so graceful, yet so broad and powerful, that you felt as though you were listening rather to a narrative than to an argument. There were rarely any tropes or figures, or learned illustrations, but your very passions were enlisted by the ardour and intenseness of his logic, and you were carried unresistingly along, as well by the force of your imagination as by the convictions of your judgment. The power which he thus exercised was so transcendent that could he have seen and conversed with every individual in the Union, he would have reigned supreme over public opinion.

The fame of Mr. CALHOUN will rest chiefly on his character as a Statesman. Posterity, with a knowledge of events yet concealed from

us, will analyze it closely. It is believed that it will stand the most rigid scrutiny. So many qualifications are necessary to the formation of Statesmen, and so rare a combination of all the highest moral and mental qualities is requisite to constitute one of the first order, that they are usually rated rather by degrees of ability, than by the peculiarities of talent. Such peculiarities, however, do exist, and so color their current opinions, that they are in all countries classed, at least temporarily, according to the domestic parties whose views they favor for the time. In this country, where everything is so new and variable: where not only our political institutions are experimental, but our civilization has not attained a permanent standard, there is great difficulty in appropriating distinctive names to our Statesmen—a difficulty enhanced by the fact that nearly or quite all of our eminent men have, in the course of their careers, radically changed some of their opinions: a change which indeed few of the great Statesmen of any country, in the last eighty eventful years, have escaped.

Coming into the public councils at a period when twenty years of successful experiment had, it was thought, fully tested our Federal Constitution, and established the permanence of the Federal Government—when a vigorous effort to convert it into a central despotism had been signally defeated, and all sectional jealousies and apprehensions had been lulled, Mr. CALHOUN devoted himself wholly and enthusiastically to the grand purpose of developing all the mighty resources of his country, and raising her to the highest pitch of prosperity and greatness. His views were large—far reaching—noble. And his measures were in full accordance with them. Whenever, in war or in peace, an exigency occurred, his active and inventive genius promptly suggested a provision for it, always ample, and usually the best that could be adopted. Whenever favoring circumstances invited a forward movement, or a wider exertion of energy, he was ever ready with plans thoroughly digested and fully adapted to accomplish all the ends in view. While close in his calculations, and careful of details, there was nothing low or narrow in anything he ever proposed. He had an ineffable scorn for whatever was mean or contracted in legislation; and having an abiding confidence, not only in truth and justice, but in the power of reason, and the capacity of the people to appreciate what was right and comprehend the arguments in favor of it, he never for a moment yielded to the current popular opinion, when it differed from his own. He expected to restrain it by his logic, and ultimately reverse it by the benefits his measures would confer. As a Progressive Statesman, leading ardently during the first part of his career the very van of Progress, Mr. CALHOUN may be considered a perfect model.

When, however, a few years of peace had developed in this new and rapidly growing country what it has taken thirty years to make manifest in older and more closely cemented social fabrics—that Governments and Constitutions are more severely tried by the conflicts of domestic than of foreign interests, and ambition; and it became evident that our Government was to be perverted and our Constitution set aside, to enable one section of this Confederacy to despoil another—then Mr. CALHOUN became a Conservative Statesman. He saw that, in common with the founders of the Republic, he had been deceived in his belief that the Constitution had been consecrated by a quarter of a century of successful operation, and that all danger of a central despotism had passed by. He saw, what many—in all countries—have been too slow in seeing—that there is a Progress which, like "vaulting ambition, overleaps itself." He recoiled from the operation of machinery he had himself helped to put in motion; and he now ardently devoted all his talents and all his energy to arrest the march of usurpation and corruption, and to preserve the liberties and institutions inherited from our fathers.

But merely negative and stolid conservatism did not at all suit the genius of Mr. CALHOUN, which was essentially active and ever looking forward to the improvement of mankind. He sought, therefore, earnestly, to discover the principles and theory of Movement that might be onward and unfailing—yet regular and safe. In accomplishing this task, he sounded anew the depths of human nature; he re-viewed the whole science of politics; he analyzed the Constitution word by word—its letter and its spirit; and he studied thoroughly the workings of our Government. The result was that he lifted himself above all parties, and became a Philosophical Statesman—the only true and real Statesman. And it was in the wide and exhaustless field now opened to him, that he gathered those immortal laurels, whose verdure shall delight, whose blossoms shall refresh, whose fruit shall be the food of the latest posterity.

The example of his noble efforts to reform the Government and to restore the Constitution of his country, distinguished by the display of the vastest resources and the most masterly powers of intellect—though like Agis, and Conon, and the younger Brutus, he failed in his glorious designs—will live forever. But his speeches and writings will constitute a new epoch in the science of Politics. Our Federal Constitution, he often said, was in advance of the wisdom of those who framed it; and he it was who first thoroughly explored, comprehended, and expounded it. He found in it nearly all that was requisite to establish on the firmest

foundations, a free and popular Government, which was his beau ideal of Government: and which, though it has had many friends and many martyrs and has been illustrated by patriots and heroes, has scarcely before had a genuine Apostle. He laid down, for the first time, its true principles, and marked out its true limits: and has shown how it might, and unless vigilantly watched would depart eventually from those principles and limits, and produce all those evils which have so long made it odious to the best and wisest men. He has shown, on the other hand, how capable, it is of unlimited expansion, to meet all the exigencies and reap all the benefits of real progress—if its power be confided to the proper majorities and their suffrages collected in the proper manner: and how its harmony may be kept undisturbed and its duration made perpetual, by securing to the minorities the sacred and all-important right of self-protection. In short, he has so thoroughly elucidated all the checks and balances of Free Constitutions—simple and confederated—that henceforth, in the long tide of time, no Republic will be erected or reformed on a durable foundation, without a constant recurrence to the theories he has discussed, and the measures he has proposed; and a profound observance of the precepts he has taught.

I have endeavored to point out the most prominent events in the life of Mr. CALHOUN: the parts he took in public affairs: the services he rendered his country: the policy and views by which he was at various periods influenced. I have also endeavored to pourtray the most striking features of his moral and intellectual character; and have briefly reviewed his Statesmanship. My task is executed, however feebly and imperfectly. It would be vain to attempt to fathom the Divine Will, and seek to learn why, in this most eventful period of our history, our Great Leader has been snatched away, leaving no one behind who can fill his place. What we do know is, that high and sacred duties have devolved on us; and imitating his illustrious example, we should go forward in the performance of them with "unshaken confidence in the Providence of God."

# MESSAGE

## OF THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA TO THE LEGISLATURE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBIA, NOV. 27, 1850.

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate*
*and House of Representatives:*

Since your adjournment in December last, South Carolina has presented a scene of sadness and affliction. In a few months, four of her faithful public servants, exercising distinguished and highly responsible public trusts, under the Federal and State Governments, have passed from time to eternity. To this bereavement, it behooves us as a people, humbly to submit, in the encouraging assurance that the chastenings of Providence are tempered with mercy and loving kindness.

On the 31st of March, in the City of Washington, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, one of the Senators from this State, terminated his earthly career. The announcement of the death of so eminent a citizen called for the strongest manifestations of grief from a large portion of the Republic. In intensity of feeling and deep pervading gloom, it renewed the heart-felt exhibition of mourning which occurred in December, '99, when the fatal truth was realized that George Washington had ceased to be numbered with the living.

While this great Confederacy of co-equal Sovereignties, through their common agent, portrayed in lofty terms the character and services of the deceased, several of the States themselves, as well as the people of many sections of the Union, in the most impressive forms in which sorrow is susceptible of expression, proclaimed to the political communities of the world that a great man, morally and intellectually, had fallen. The accompanying resolutions of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the reports of the late Mayor of Charleston, and the Committee of 25, appointed by the Executive to bring the remains of our late Senator to South Carolina, alone furnish satisfactory evidence on this subject.

Although it may be with truth affirmed, that personally, Mr. CAL-

HOUN was unknown to his countrymen, yet, perhaps, no public servant ever had a stronger hold on their affections. This was the result of a settled belief, that to deep sagacity, an enlightened judgment, and profound wisdom, he added a patriotic ardor and integrity of purpose which no force of circumstances could subdue or weaken. If, from a fearless assumption of responsibility and entire freedom from party trammels, on all questions involving principle, he was occasionally exposed to the rebukes of a certain class of politicians, still, the meed of the people's admiration, if not actual concurrence, was never withheld from him.

With all the lofty qualifications of a consummate statesman, our great leader was deficient in the lower, yet not unfrequently important, attributes of the mere politician. In determining the relative influence of circumstances on the progress and destiny of nations, and in estimating the force of their combinations, his perspicacity was pre-eminent. Unadapted to the character of his mind, and the elevated ends at which he aimed, the task of carrying an assailable point by address, adroitness in contrivance or other expedients, formed no part of his labors. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the human mind, and the springs of human action, political causes and their effects, he could, with rare penetration, unfold. In the moral, as in the physical world, there are fixed laws, which, under the same circumstances, produce like results. In steadfastly adhering to these as his guide, he was at all times able to eliminate the truth of a case amidst the obscurity and embarrassment that encompassed it. Far in advance of the age in which he lived, the discoveries of his intellectual vision, which the ordinary eye was incapable of appreciating, were, on certain subjects, often considered as the visionary speculations of an habitual alarmist. In illustration of his prophetic power, the wide-spread effects of abolition aggression might be appropriately cited. If his admonitions and warnings, so early and solemnly uttered in the Senate, had been practically attended to, the present perilous condition of the Southern community never would have been reached; nor would the mind of the public have been startled by a proposition to amend the charter of Union, as a measure necessary to secure the permanence and safety of the domestic institutions of the South.

Because it was the fundamental law, Mr. CALHOUN was among the most ardent and undeviating supporters of the Federal Constitution. Guided by the soundest principles of political ethics, he justly maintained that the only safe and effectual mode of preserving a partnership, whether among individuals or States, was to resist every encroachment

on the terms of agreement. One act of unchecked usurpation, he was well aware, would constitute a precedent for another, until, by a series of unwarrantable measures, adopted at various, and it may be distant dates, the distinctive characteristics of the original covenant no longer existed in practice. The time of resistance to unlawful authority is at the commencement of its assaults, because the power of the many, under the panoply of might, is perpetually encroaching on the rights of the few. The tendency of all majorities, moreover, is to despotism. In their recognition of the Ordinance of '87, unwarrantably enacted by the old confederation, and in assenting to the Act admitting Missouri into the Union, the Plantation States unwittingly inflicted perhaps an incurable evil upon their institutions and domestic quiet.

Mr. CALHOUN'S name is intimately associated with the history of the United States for the last forty years. During that eventful period, every measure of high public interest received the impress of his master mind. On the science of Government, as exemplified in the operation of our institutions, and that of the Republics of antiquity, his speeches and writings have shed a flood of light. While he admitted that the Constitution of our country was the work of pure and patriotic men, and is a proud monument of human wisdom, yet, in neglecting to provide ample securities for the weaker section of the community, and relying too confidently on parchment barriers for the protection of the social organization of the respective parties, its framers have furnished instruments for the destruction of their own labors, by a slow, but certain, process.

Always on the side of liberty and justice, the South Carolina statesman was sleeplessly vigilant in detecting the insidious advances of power, and confining the central authority within its strictly constitutional orbit. Aware of the centripetal tendency of all political associations, under a federal head, he labored so unceasingly to maintain the Union by preserving the integrity of its members, as to subject himself, among the latitudinarians, to the imputation of Southern predilection. Duty and patriotism alike impelled him to the adoption of this course.

The Congress, at an early period of our history, had not only exercised ungranted powers, but had applied them to the promotion of sectional purposes, first by openly plundering, through the forms of law, the property of one-half the States for the benefit of the other half; but more recently by other means, which threatened the extinction of their independence and sovereignty. To compel submission to its edicts, the authority of the Executive had been unwarrantably enlarged. Prior, indeed, to that despotic enactment—the Force Bill—the Presi-

dent of the United States had announced his solemn resolution that, should resistance by a State to any measure of the General Government be attempted, he would suppress it with the entire military force of the country. In fine, separately and unitedly, the Executive and Legislative departments had each avowed and assumed the right of determining the extent of its own powers, and thereby repudiating any title in the States to enforce the restrictions they had originally imposed on the several fiduciaries of the Federal Compact.

In opposing, on every occasion, with all the strength of his gigantic intellect, these bold and reckless attempts to convert a Republic of checks and balances into a Democracy, governed by the will of an interested and irresponsible majority, the pen of the eulogist is alone furnished with abundant matter to exhibit in its true light Mr. CALHOUN'S reverence for the noble bequest of our fathers, and his deep devotion to the principles of constitutional liberty. His elaborate exposition of the prominent doctrine of the State Rights school; that the Union of '89 was a Union of States, and not of individuals; and as an unavoidable deduction, that "in cases of deliberate and dangerous infractions of the Constitution, the States, as parties to the compact, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose to arrest the progress of the evil, and to maintain within their respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them;" is unsurpassed for clearness of conception, logical reasoning, and sound conclusion, by any intellectual effort of ancient or modern days. If the important truths it embodies be disregarded by the American people, it is not difficult to predict that, at no distant day, the bond which unites their respective sovereignties will be severed forever.

Had Mr. CALHOUN been a party zealot, he probably would have been elevated to the post of Chief Magistrate. It is certain that at one time, the road of ambition was open before him, but he "chose to tread the rugged path of duty." For a quarter of a century, the acknowledged leader of the State Rights party, he labored assiduously, by precept and example, to detect and establish its land-marks. Keeping steadily in view the great ends of his system, the possibility of their immedate or prospective attainment, depending on the comparative difficulty of the circumstances under which he was called to act, was nevertheless an aim, in his judgment, to be constantly kept in view. For this reason, he would, at times, in his Senatorial capacity, assail the measures of his own political friends, and by co-operating with their opponents, render himself liable to the charge of inconsistency, if not dereliction of duty, while in reality he was only maintain-

ing his own independence and consistency. These occasions involved generally considerations affecting directly or incidentally the relative powers of the Federal and State Governments.

Our faithful sentinel died at his post, his mind dwelling to the latest moment on the mighty topic which had for many years engrossed his undivided attention. He had long seen the dangers the domestic institutions of the South would have to encounter, unless averted by the influence of wise and patriotic counsels. His last speech so ably portrayed the peril of our situation, and the causes which had produced it, that had it pleased Providence to give him the hour he seemed so anxious to possess, another successful invasion of the guaranties of the Constitution, unless truth proved powerless on the occasion, would not have resulted from federal action. His potential voice, alas, will never again be heard! The record of his opinion and acts constitute his legacy to his countrymen. By scrupulously avoiding the guidance of a levelling philosophy, and crushing in embryo the delusive and unfraternal measures which the spirit of a turbulent and restless age has engendered, we shall be following the example of him whose whole life was a continuous effort to adapt his intellectual energies to their proper function—the search of immutable truth.

Mr. CALHOUN had nearly attained the full age allotted to man; he had rendered invaluable services to his country, and the cause of constitutional government; his public career having been as distinguished for the political evils he had averted, as the good he had accomplished; whilst his character, in all the relations of private life, was such as the breath of calumny had never ventured to assail. Let, then, the erection of a memorial, worthy both of his exalted reputation and of the enduring gratitude of the people of South Carolina, be the crowning act of their constitutional authorities. Erect it where the framers of our laws and the youth of our State may, as they contemplate it, imbibe the noblest principles of patriotism, of wisdom, and of virtue.

In accordance with these views, I recommend that the lot of four acres in front of the State House be purchased, with the consent of the owners of the property, at a fair valuation; that a monument to receive his remains, composed entirely of the products of our soil, be erected in the centre; and that the grounds, skilfully ornamented with shrubbery, be converted into a public walk.

It is known that for several years Mr. CALHOUN employed the intervals of leisure left him by pressing public engagements, in preparing for the press some political works, which he deemed of importance, not only to his own reputation, but to the interests of the country. These,

embracing an elementary treatise on Government, and an elaborate disquisition on the Constitution of the United States, he had just completed before his death. The two would make, perhaps, an octavo volume of about 450 pages. An inspection of the lesser work, that at my request was exhibited to me by his eldest son, during a visit which I made at the family residence, and the opinion of a highly competent judge, who has given to the larger work a rigid examination, warrant me in saying, that perhaps no contribution on the same or similar subject, equals them in amount of thought, argument and research. It may safely be predicted, that the entire composition will stand as distinguished in the political literature of the day, as the illustrious statesman himself was pre-eminent among the public characters of his time. The exalted fame of the author, and the honor and proud position of the State which he so long loved and served, forbid that these monuments of his genius, and of his untiring industry and devotion to the public weal, should be given to the world in the ordinary way. Nor would the common usage, so often condemned by the deceased, of appealing to the Federal Government for its countenance and support, be sanctioned by the people of the State. I feel assured, too, that his family, who have yielded his mortal remains to the land of his birth, will never surrender into other hands, the distinctive memorials of his predominant intellect, and of his public and private virtues.

I therefore recommend that these, as well as other important papers which he left behind him, be applied for and published in this State, by legislative authority; that the Governor be authorized and requested to employ a suitable person to superintend the publication of two editions, one in the best style of modern typography, and the other to be furnished at as cheap a rate as possible; and that whatever profits may accrue, be for the benefit of Mr. CALHOUN'S family.

Every citizen within our limits should possess a copy of this legacy to the cause of constitutional liberty. It will teach him not only to understand, but to estimate the value of his rights. As the time of decisive action has arrived, let it be entered on the record, that South Carolina has not only preserved the unconquerable spirit of independence, but the sacred oracles of political wisdom.

WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK.

# RHETT'S ORATION.

Oration of the Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett, before the Legislature of South Carolina, November 28, 1850.

*Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:*

The Governor of the State has appointed me to deliver before you, "an Oration on the life, services, and character," of the late John C. Calhoun.

Great men, in all ages, have been considered as reflecting distinction on the States of their nativity; and therefore, public honors have been rendered to their remains by their country; and the chisel of the Sculptor, the pen of the Poet, and the voice of the Orator, have been invoked to celebrate and perpetuate their memories. This time-honored custom, practiced by every people, should especially be observed by Republics towards great public men, who, whilst living, have lived for their country, and dying, have left behind them enduring monuments of their genius and patriotism. Republics rest on the virtues of their public men. Other forms of government may live, and often live more surely, without love of country; but with republics, patriotism is life.

To cherish this great virtue, therefore, is not only the impulse of gratitude, but the dictate of the most obvious policy. And to the dying statesman, (so far as this world is concerned, and next only to the remembrance of him by those whose hearts are one with him in the domestic circle,) what can be so cheering, so consoling, as the conviction that he shall not be forgotten by his country; and that, unmindful of his errors and weaknesses, his countrymen, gathering together as we now do, in the halls of their Legislature, amidst the emblems of mourning hung around them, with all the dignitaries of the State to participate in their sorrow, shall think only of those virtues and services which, bearing him up to a lofty fame, have also borne with him his native State, and united her name with his own throughout the civilized world! For the sake of the living and the dead, we this day pay public honors to the late John C. Calhoun.

A distinguished statesman and philosopher has observed, that the characters of men are formed before they are seven years old. This

observation, although perhaps a little exaggerated, is true in the general position it is intended to affirm—that all the great elements of character are stamped into the mind before childhood, or boyhood, has ended. Here begins the moral inequality of men, by which one is raised to honor, and another to dishonor. Men seldom change in their moral characteristics, from what they are at their earlier periods of existence. Manhood is not the seed-time, but the harvest, of our principles. We then act upon them, as they are grown within us, and carry them out in the moral warfare of life, for good or evil, to others and ourselves.

Mr. CALHOUN was ushered into life by that first and greatest of all earthly blessings, a good parentage. His father was a brave, intelligent and patriotic man, used to the dangers and privations of a frontier life, and schooled in the great principles of liberty, by the hard contest of our Revolution. His mother was of a family whose sufferings attested their gallant devotion to the cause of freedom. Two out of three of her uncles fell in battle, and the third was long immured in the dungeon of a prison-ship, at St. Augustine. From such parents, a son might well be expected to arise of elevated morality, and of the noblest patriotism. Born in the midst of the Revolution, he grew up by the side of those who had participated in its arduous and bloody conflicts, and caught from their lips the stern lessons they inculcated with their swords in the battle-field, that "resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." The public opinion of our whole community, just after the Revolution, was eminently patriotic. Men were esteemed, not according to the factitious consequence which wealth or fashion can impart, but according to the services they had rendered in that great struggle by which we acquired our liberties. Amidst such influences, such a mind as Mr. CALHOUN'S must have moved as in a kindred element, and drank in the inspirations of patriotism which filled the air with its voiceless but resistless teachings. Living in the country, retirement deepened all his impressions. There were no city pleasures around him, to beckon him away from virtue; no city vices, to sap the energies and cripple the noble impulses of his nature. Nor did affluence lay its benumbing hand on his aspirations. Self-denial and labor, not ease and luxury, were his early lot; and the habits these inspired, led him on to a life of continual industry, and of glorious usefulness and success. Under such influences, Mr. CALHOUN'S early life was passed. Youth had nearly flown, and he was engaged in the simple pursuit of planting, when his brother urged him, at the age of nineteen, to enter upon one of the liberal professions. But content with the peaceful and unambitious employment of agriculture, he declined the proposal, placing against it, what he deemed, imprac-

ticable conditions. He required that his mother, with whom he lived, should give a free consent to his leaving her; and that his brother should engage to provide him with the means, for seven years, to educate and prepare him for a profession. Fortunately for his country, these kind and generous relations appreciated him far higher than he appears to have estimated himself. His mother, with that disinterested love which mothers only can feel, freely bade him go from her side to tread the paths of improvement and usefulness, and his brother pledged the means he required. His classical and collegiate course justified their fondest anticipations. Whilst instructors predicted his future greatness, all his associates at school and college remember their fellow-student with admiration and affection, and tell with pride and pleasure, of their early connection with him. His preparation for the Bar was so thorough and ample, that, with his commanding abilities, on entering it, he stepped at once to the head of his profession. Such a man could not long remain in private life. He was soon elected to our State Legislature, at the head of the ticket. From the State Legislature, where he distinguished himself by his thorough knowledge and anticipation of public affairs, he was sent, in 1810, to the Congress of the United States.

Gentlemen, to delineate Mr. CALHOUN's life, we must portray his conduct and services. "Our lives are two-fold," made up of internal and external actions. Our internal life, which is our real life, consists of thoughts, intentions, and emotions. This, no eye can see, no hand can write, but the eye and hand of Omnipotence; and it will only be read at the great day of account. Our external life consists of our conduct and services to other men, and to our country. These we can investigate, and from them, we may infer the hidden life, out of which flows all of our visible actions.

Mr. CALHOUN's public life and services cover an immense tract of intellectual achievements. To follow him at every step of his triumphant progress, may well become the biographer, but is not compatible with the brief task assigned to me. I shall not, therefore, attempt what it would be impossible to perform, consistently with your patience or the time allotted me, but shall content myself with the humble endeavor to exhibit him before you as a statesman, upon three subjects only—the war of 1812, the tariff, and slavery. Upon his policy and speeches with respect to these great subjects, I know he chiefly rested his title to future fame.

The war of 1812 was a great war. It was great, not on account of the hosts engaged in battle, or the thousands who were slaughtered in

its progress, but on account of the *principles* it vindicated, and the *manner* in which those principles were vindicated. Viewed merely as a contest against unjust power, it is by no means an ordinary event in the history of nations. Great Britain aimed at nothing short of recolonizing the United States. All she ever desired in founding us as colonies—and all she ever sought to accomplish, before her pretensions of taxing us, was the control of our commerce. This she endeavored to do through her orders in council, and the lawless depredations they authorized. Practically, she asserted, and attempted to enforce the pretension, that the United States should carry on no commerce with Europe, except by her permission, and from her ports. In this point of view, the war of 1812 was a war for national independence. But it was far greater in the principles which it involved. The rights of neutrals, between belligerent nations, have been for ages a matter of contention. The object of this war was to vindicate these rights, against the pretended right of search, and that of paper blockades falsely set up by Great Britain. It did not settle, by distinct acknowledgment, the rights of neutrals on these points, but it practically established them by tacit consent. The United States are now too powerful on the ocean, for any nation to make an enemy of her by attempting to enforce against her as a neutral, the old pretensions of Great Britain. A change of positions is gradually taking place; and at no distant day, Great Britain, no longer the first power on the ocean, will need the protecting shield of these principles, against the greater strength of other nations. With the United States of America in the ascendant, all the great maritime States of the world will thus be in their favor, and will look back to the war of 1812, as the great source of their triumph and vindication.

In such a contest—a contest for national independence and the liberty of the seas—Mr. CALHOUN was found amongst the first to counsel against submission. In the Congress of 1810, and that of 1811, he raised his voice for open and uncompromising resistance. His proud and free spirit disdained the non-intercourse policy, which Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison had put in force throughout the United States. This policy was the result of fear of the power of Britain. She had determined to plunder us; and we, to escape her plundering, denied ourselves all the benefits of the free commerce to which we were entitled by the laws of nations, and self-infliction, not resistance, was the policy of these distinguished statesmen. Fear is, indeed, the worst of all counsellors; and when, instead of enforcing right, it adds to our wrongs and sufferings, it is as injurious as it is contemptible. The consequence in this case was, that the patriotism of the country seemed to be

guaged by our gains; an internal dissatisfaction spread throughout all those parts of the Union most immediately affected by this timid policy. Contrasting it with war, Mr. CALHOUN denounced it, in one of the first speeches he delivered in Congress, in a strain of philosophic invective seldom equalled in the annals of oratory.

"This system," he argued, "renders Government odious. The farmer enquires why he gets no more for his produce, and he is told, it is owing to the embargo or commercial restrictions. In this he sees only the hand of his own government, and not the acts of violence and injustice which his system is intended to counteract. His censures fall on the Government. This is an unhappy state of the public mind; and even, I might say, in a government resting essentially on public opinion, a dangerous one. In war, it is different. Its privations, it is true, may be equal or greater; but the public mind, under the strong impulses of that state of things, becomes steeled against sufferings. The difference is almost infinite between the passive and active state of the mind. Tie down a hero, and he feels the puncture of a pin; throw him into battle, and he is almost insensible to vital gashes. So in war. Impelled alternately by hope and fear, stimulated by revenge, depressed by shame, or elevated by victory, the people become invincible. No privation can shake their fortitude; no calamity break their spirit. Even when equally successful, the contrast between the two systems is striking. War and restriction may leave the country equally exhausted; but the latter not only leaves you poor, but, even when successful, dispirited, divided, discontented, with diminished patriotism, and the morals of a considerable portion of your people corrupted. Not so in war, in that state, the common danger unites all, strengthens the bonds of society, and feeds the flames of patriotism. The national character mounts to energy. In exchange for the expenses and privations of war, you obtain military and naval skill, and a more perfect organization of such parts of your administration as are connected with the science of national defence. Sir, are these advantages to be counted as trifles in the present state of the world? Can they be measured by moneyed valuation? I would prefer a single victory over the enemy, by sea or by land, to all the good we shall ever derive from the continuation of the non-importation Act. I know not that a victory would produce an equal pressure on the enemy; but I am certain of what is of greater consequence, it would be accompanied by more salutary effects on ourselves. The memory of Saratoga, Princeton, and Eutaw, is immortal. It is there you will find the country's boast and pride—the inexhaustible source of great and heroic sentiments But what will

history say of restriction? What examples worthy of imitation will it furnish to posterity? What pride, what pleasure, will our children find in the events of such times? Let me not be considered romantic. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its courage, its fortitude, its skill and virtue, for protection. These are the only safe-guards in the hour of danger. Man was endued with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he is to conquer by endurance. He is not encrusted in a shell; he is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering, for a defence. No, sir, it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature, he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind. It is these that render man the lord of the world. It is the destiny of his condition, that nations rise above nations, as they are endued in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities."

He brought forward propositions at this session of Congress to prepare for war; and at the next session reported, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the declaration of war, written by Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State. After the downfall of Napoleon, in 1813, Great Britain, disembarrassed of the contests in Europe, was left, with her veteran troops, to carry on the war with the United States. The opposition in Congress and out of Congress sought to paralyze the efforts made to carry on the war successfully. They were fully and powerfully represented in Congress. Alluding to the reverses of our arms on our frontiers, Mr. Webster sarcastically exclaimed: "This was not the entertainment to which we were invited!" And throughout the New England States, the decided front of opposition to its continuance was raised. In this state of things, it was strongly urged in Congress, that our condition was desperate; and that, at any cost, the war should be closed. The opposition was developed on the Loan Bill, now brought forward to carry on the war. Mr. CALHOUN advocated a stern prosecution of the war, and delivered that speech which was read at the head of our armies. It is impossible, even at this day, to read the conclusion without catching the fire of his lofty eloquence.

"This country is left alone to support the rights of neutrals. Perilous is the condition, and arduous the task. We are not intimidated. We stand opposed to British usurpation, and, by our spirit and efforts, have done all in our power to save the last vestiges of neutral rights. Yes, our embargoes, non-intercourse, non-importation, and finally, war, are all exertions to preserve the rights of this and other nations from the deadly grasp of British maritime policy. But, (say our opponents,) these efforts are lost, and our condition hopeless. If so, it only remains

for us to assume the garb of our condition. We must submit, humbly submit, beg pardon, and hug our chains. It is not wise to provoke, where we cannot resist. But first, let us be well assured of the hopelessness of our State before we sink into submission. On what do our opponents rest their despondent and slavish belief? On the recent events in Europe? I admit they are great, and well calculated to impose on the imagination. Our enemy never presented a more imposing exterior. His fortune is at the flood. But I am admonished by universal experience that such prosperity is the most precarious of human conditions. From the flood, the tide dates its ebb. From the meridian, the sun commences his decline. Depend upon it, there is more of sound philosophy than of fiction in the fickleness which poets attribute to fortune. Prosperity has its weakness, adversity its strength. In many respects our enemy has lost by those very changes which seem so very much in his favor. He can no more claim to be struggling for existence; no more to be fighting the battles of the world in defence of the liberties of mankind. The magic cry of "French influence," is lost. In this very hall we are not strangers to that sound. Here, even here, the cry of "French influence," that baseless fiction, that phantom of faction, now banished, often resounded. I rejoice that the spell is broken by which it was attempted to bind the spirit of this youthful nation. The minority can no longer act under cover, but must come out and defend their opposition on its own intrinsic merits. Our example can scarcely fail to produce its effects on other nations interested in the maintenance of maritime rights. But if, unfortunately, we should be left alone to maintain the contest, and if, which may God forbid, necessity should compel us to yield for the present, yet our generous efforts will not have been lost. A mode of thinking and a tone of sentiment have gone abroad which must stimulate to future and more successful struggles. What could not be effected with eight millions of people, will be done with twenty. The great cause will never be yielded—no, never, never. Sir, I hear the future audibly announced in the past, in the splendid victories over the Guerriere, Java, and Macedonian. We and all nations, by these victories, are taught a lesson never to be forgotten. Opinion is power. The charm of British naval invincibility is gone."

This war was called the Carolina war. More eminent statesmen from South Carolina than from any other State of the Union, enforced and sustained it by their counsels; and it was closed victoriously at New Orleans, by the military prowess of a South Carolinian. But were it not that Lowndes and Cheves and Williams were his colleagues, it might

well be called a CALHOUN war. It was a type of all the political contests in which he was afterwards engaged—ever struggling for right and liberty, against oppression and power.

This war placed Mr. CALHOUN amongst the foremost spirits of his time. On the elevation of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, he was called into his cabinet, as Secretary of War. This department was involved in the utmost confusion. But soon order and responsibility arose throughout all its arrangements and details. His genius yet presides over this department in its admirable organization, which no one who has succeeded him has attempted to alter or improve. His great abilities were stamped on all the documents he produced at the call of Congress, or of the Executive; and at the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, he stood prominently forward for the Presidency. Pennsylvania nominated him for this distinguished office; and had South Carolina supported the nomination, the probability is he would, at that early day, have reached the Presidential chair. But she in preference nominated William Lowdnes another of her distinguished sons.

William Lowndes was one of the greatest, yet one of the blandest and most amiable of men. No one could approach him without emotions of affection and admiration. In conferring with him, you felt as if communing with a bright and serene spirit, fresh from the crystal fountains of truth, without a spot on its snowy vestments. You were not so much dazzled by the splendor, as attracted by the mild light of his clear and beautiful intelligence, like the light of bright but distant stars. He did not, perhaps he could not, crush, by the overwhelming weight of his logic, the mind of his hearer—but softly subduing it to his purposes, he won it away from itself, and made it willing to be won. His native delicacy taught him that most difficult of all achievements to a very superior mind, not to offend by his superiority. You came to him with ease and confidence, you left him full of thought and gladness. Instead of humbling in his intercourse, he lifted up the feebler minds of others, and made them willing to bow to the gentle majesty of so much goodness and so much power. Mr. Lowndes had no enemies. To wound the feelings of another, even to protect his own, was beyond the gentleness of his noble nature. He had, of course, friends, warm friends, whose admiration of him as a man and as a statesman, was equalled only by their love. Between such a man and Mr. CALHOUN, there was an instinctive assimilation. They appreciated and loved each other. When, therefore, they were both nominated for the Presidency, and thus placed in the attitude of rivals, Mr. CALHOUN hastened to Mr. Lowndes. He assured him that he had had no agency

in his own nomination by Pennsylvania; and expressed the hope, that the acts of their friends would not at all affect the personal relations of friendship and esteem between themselves. Mr. Lowndes warmly reciprocated the desire of Mr. CALHOUN, and to his death the feelings of confidence and friendship between these two great men remained unimpaired—a striking instance of the nobleness of their generous natures.

Mr. Lowndes died before the Presidential canvass came to a close; and General Jackson, in the meantime, being taken up by Pennsylvania, as a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. CALHOUN was supported on all the Presidential tickets, for the Vice-Presidency. He was elected, of course, to this distinguished office; but Gen. Jackson, although highest by the vote of the electoral colleges, did not obtain the constitutional majority required for electing him to the Presidency. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and by a combination between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams was made President of the United States.

This administration was not long in developing its Federal tendencies, and Mr. CALHOUN joined the opposition for its overthrow.

The weak, as well as the vital point of liberty in all free governments, is in the laying and expending of the taxes; and to this point, consolidation most naturally drifts in consummating its policy. If the government could but be made omnipotent in regard to taxation and expenditure, its omnipotence in all other matters would soon follow. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, by the *habeas corpus* Act, and the trial by jury, had long since thrown indestructible barriers around the liberty of the person, against the encroachments of tyranny; but liberty, as to property, in the imposition of taxes, is still a matter of strife and contention. It was fought for in the Revolution in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was fought for by our ancestors, in our own Revolution of 1776. We won it in that fierce contest, but lost it almost as soon as it was won, by the operations of the General Government. The concession made by the Constitution to the General Government, of the power of laying duties on imports, was fatal to all equality and justice in taxation. For, even though the duties should be laid with a single eye to revenue, they would be levied upon the commerce created by the exports, and must be unequal in their operation upon those to whom the exports belong. But when, in the working of this method of raising revenue for the support of the General Government, millions of people and all sections of the Union become interested to obtain advantages by its perversion or excess, it is vain to

look for justice or equality. The taxes, so far from being burdens, as all taxes should be, are, on the contrary, sources of gain and prosperity. The higher the taxes levied on foreign commodities, the greater are their gains, either from the higher prices which they obtain for articles they manufacture similar to those taxed on importation, or from the total exclusion of the foreign commodity. Under such a policy, injustice and oppression reign in the exercise of the taxing power; and the Government becomes only an instrument for wresting property from one citizen to bestow it on another. Under such a policy, corruption likewise reigns in the *expending* power—for the more the public treasury can be exhausted and wasted, the higher must be the taxes to fill its coffers. Hence arises a tyranny as remorseless as it is sateless. It was this policy, under the name of the American system, which Mr. Adams' administration, sought to consummate in the tariff bill of 1828. Fortunately for liberty, tyranny seldom has bounds in its aggressions. It will not be satisfied with light oppressions; but goes on to crush its victims, or drive them to resistance. The tariffs of 1818, of '22, of '24 and '28—showed the successive steps of its unalterable progress. It was impossible for such a mind as Mr. CALHOUN'S, after the opportunity his election to the Vice-Presidency, from the leisure it afforded, presented for mature consideration, not to comprehend the whole operation of this policy, and to hate and resist it. When it was supposed that the votes would be equal in the Senate, on this Bill, and thus that, as Vice-President, his vote would be wanted to determine its fate, he declared his determination to vote against it, and to forfeit his position as Vice-President, on the electoral ticket of the Democratic party—then certain of success—rather than support this "Bill of abominations." But the Bill passed without his vote. It was received in South Carolina with the most decided marks of popular indignation. Resistance was openly proclaimed against it at many meetings held by the people, in different parts of the State. In Colleton District, where the first movements were made, the Governor of the State was requested immediately to convene the Legislature together, in order that the State should determine on the mode and measure of redress. In this emergency, the eyes of many were turned towards Mr. CALHOUN for counsel and direction; and two of the most distinguished statesmen from the lower country visited him during the summer at his residence, Fort Hill. Mr. CALHOUN was in favor sf resistance, but of resistance within the pale of the Constitution, by the peaceable remedy of nullification, whose aim was to check effectually these encroachments upon our rights, but at the same time to preserve the Union. At the

succeeding sitting of the Legislature, those in favor of calling a Convention of the people by the Legislature, were defeated; but an able exposition, the work of Mr. CALHOUN, was put forth by the State, demonstrating the grievances of the tariff, and defending the right of State-interposition, for their redress. A protest was also adopted by the Legislature, and sent on to Washington, to be recorded on the journals of Congress. It was prepared by one of Carolina's most gifted sons.

Hugh S. Legare was a man of too much heart for politics. His French temperament, quick to resent, yet easy to forgive; warm, guileless, and confiding, rendered him too unhappy and too disappointed, when tossed on the boisterous and adverse waves of public life. He had none of that cold patience, or buoyant hope, which often makes disaster the occasion of after rejoicing; or defeat the means of awakening new and higher energies. Yet he had a genius capable of mastering every science—an industry which travelled with untiring steps over the whole domain of literature; and a spirit of blazing intensity, which drew to itself and consumed all that was great or truthful or beautiful in the thoughts of other men. How often did his oratory resound in this hall; filling us with admiration at its pure and deep cadences! Vigorous thought, clothed in the drapery of the warmest and most nervous language, and borne on the wings of a lofty and impetuous spirit, characterized his striking powers in debate. Alas! the eagle fell as he reached the mountain top! He died on the very summit, where his glorious scholarship, mighty attainments, and brilliant genius, would have made him a name amongst the great statesmen of the world. Although he deemed himself slighted and wronged by his native State, he turned to her, to the last, with a full and yearning heart.

> "Heu! quanto minus est cum reliquis versare,
> Quam tui meminisse."

The protest of South Carolina against the Tariff Act of 1828, was recorded on the Journals of Congress; and the Presidential election coming on, Gen. Jackson was elected to the Presidency. His native State had been the first to nominate him for this distinguished office, after his defeat in the House of Representatives. The strong hope entertained of redress through his administration, was a leading cause of the defeat of those in the Legislature of South Carolina, who advocated the call of a Convention. But his first message to Congress dispelled all such hopes. Instead of recommending a reduction of the tariff to

the wants of the Treasury, in view of the payment of the public debt, he proposed that the tariff should be kept up, and that the surplus in the Treasury, which must accumulate, should be distributed among the States. If this policy, the policy of the manufacturers, should prevail, it was plain that the tariff would remain, with all its oppressions, unchanged forever—whilst the independence of the States would be swallowed up in the vortex of consolidation. At the next session of Congress, Gen. Jackson, as if to chide the tardy movements of our oppressors, repeated his recommendation of this policy for the adoption of Congress. Thus presenting to the people of South Carolina, either a permanent system of distributing the surplus revenue, and a perpetual protective tariff, or resistance. South Carolina determined to meet this alternative and to *resist*. Although equally assailed by the two great parties of the country, and abandoned by her sister States in the South, under the guidance of her great statesman she moved on to the vindication of her rights and liberties. To prepare her for the contest, and at the same time to defend the principles on which he desired she would ground her resistance, Mr. CALHOUN put forth an address, characterized by his usual great ability. The scheme of the Constitution, by which the people of a country so various in its productions, and so different in climate and institutions, may live under one Government, consistently with liberty, he exposes as follows:

"So momentous and diversified are the interests of our country, that they could not be fairly represented in a single government organized so as to give each great and leading interest a separate and distinct voice, as in governments to which I have referred. A plan was adopted better suited to our situation, but perfectly novel in its character. The powers of government were divided; not as heretofore, in reference to classes, but geographically. One general Government was formed for the whole, to which was delegated all the powers supposed to be necessary to regulate the interests common to all the States, leaving others subject to the separate control of the States, being, from their local and peculiar character, such that they could not be subject to the will of a majority of the whole Union, without the certain hazard of injustice and oppression. It was thus that the interests of the whole were subjected, as they ought to be, to the will of the whole; while the peculiar, local interests were left under the control of the States separately, to whose custody only they could be safely confided. This distribution of power, settled solemnly by a constitutional compact, to which all the States are parties, constitutes the peculiar character and excellence of our political system. It is truly and emphatically *American, without example or parallel.*

"To realize its perfection, we must view the General Government and those of the States as a whole, each in its proper sphere independent; each perfectly adapted to its respective objects; the States acting separately, representing and protecting the local and peculiar interests; acting jointly, through one General Government, with the weight respectively assigned to each by the Constitution, representing and protecting the interest of the whole, and thus perfecting, by an admirable but simple arrangement, the great principle of representation and responsibility, without which no government can be free or just. To preserve this sacred distribution, as originally settled, by coercing each to move in its prescribed orb, is the great and difficult problem, on the solution of which the duration of our Constitution, of our Union, and in all probability, our liberty, depends. How is this to be effected?"

Mr. CALHOUN answered this question by pointing to the States—at once the creators and guardians of the Constitution—to arrest, by their interposition, the encroachments of the federal head, and thus preserve the distribution of powers under the Constitution.

"The great and leading principle is, that the General Government emanated from the people of the several States, forming distinct political communities, and acting in their separate and sovereign capacities, and not from all the people forming one aggregate political community; that the Constitution of the United States is, in fact, a compact, to which each State is a party, in the character already described; and that the several States, or parties, have a right to judge of its infractions, and in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of power, not delegated, they have the right, in the last resort, to use the language of the Virginia resolutions, 'to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.' This right of interposition, thus solemnly asserted by the State of Virginia, be it called what it may—state-right, veto, nullification, or by any other name—I conceive to be the fundamental principle of our system, resting on facts historically as certain as our Revolution itself, and deductions as simple and demonstrative as those of any political or moral truth whatever; and I firmly believe that on its recognition depends the stability and safety of our political institutions."

Such is the doctrine of nullification. It was doubtless first perceived and broached by Mr. Jefferson, and supported by Mr. Madison, as a part of our system of government, in his celebrated Report on the Alien and Sedition Laws, in the Virginia Legislature. But nullification, as a great principle of *all* government—nullification in its admirable philos-

ophy—is the discovery of Mr. CALHOUN. The difference between his expositions and those of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison on this subject, is the difference between gold in the rock and gold extracted and refined, and prepared for universal use in the commerce of the world. Whether nullification is a part of the system of Government organized by the Constitution of the United States, may be doubtful. The Virginia statesmen generally, and many of our statesmen, whose abilities and patriotism no one ever doubted, limited the right of a State to secession. The principle, however, as developed by Mr. CALHOUN, must endure forever, as the only foundation on which free governments can be erected. Government is a great practical necessity, resulting from the condition of our fallen nature. If this nature were perfect, no man would do injustice to another, and there would be no need of government; but because our nature is imperfect, and man will not do justice to his fellow-man, governments are instituted to enforce justice by the power of all. But the power of all in government, on account of the frailty or the wickedness of men, tends again to injustice, because those who control it, or are entrusted with its administration, pervert its powers for their own selfish aggrandizement. Hence the difficulty of maintaining a free and just Government. We are obliged to use the very instruments to guide its operations whose frailty and corruption occasioned its primal necessity. There is but one expedient to guard against this frailty and corruption; and that is, by so organizing and distributing the powers of government amongst its various agents, as to make one a check on the abuse of another, and enable all interests and sections to protect themselves by only yielding such powers as are common and equal in their exercise. In this consists the whole science of confederated republican governments. Unlimited power in government, either in one man or in many, is despotism. Divided power, checking wrong, and enforcing justice, is liberty. In developing and enforcing this great principle, which, like attraction amongst the heavenly bodies, is the great law of all free governments, Mr. CALHOUN stands unrivalled among the statesmen of ancient or modern days. On his labors and accomplishments on this great subject, I know that he chiefly rested his title to future fame. When, during General Jackson's administration, he acted with the Whigs, in the Senate of the United States, and was claimed as one of them, he declared that he belonged to neither of the great parties in the Union, but was a Nullifier. Long after the names of Whig and Democrat should be buried in oblivion, he hoped to live as a nullifier—the great nullifier—whose principles would guide and bless the world with liberty. He lived to see—from a disregard of these

principles—that beautiful fabric of free government, organized by the Constitution of the United States, rent to its foundation, and tottering to its fall. But even in its fall shall shine forth more clearly the great truths he inculcated; and future generations, seeking liberty, will avoid the whirlpool of consolidation into which we have recklessly plunged, in spite of all his warnings, to rise probably again only in divided fragments.

The crisis approached in 1832, in consequence of the payment of the public debt, and Mr. CALHOUN addressed another powerful disquisition on the powers of Government, in a letter, to Governor Hamilton. As the true relations which the States in this Union bear towards the General Government may soon be a matter of practical and vital importance, a few extracts, elucidating this subject, may not be inappropriate. The right of secession rests upon this relation.

"By *a State* may be meant either the government of a State, or the people, as forming a separate and independent community; and by *the people*, either the American people, taken collectively, as forming one great community, or as the people of the several States, forming, as above stated, separate and independent communities. These distinctions are essential in the enquiry. If by the people be meant the people collectively, and not the people of the several States, taken separately; and if it be true, indeed, that the Constitution is the work of the American people, collectively; if it originated with them, and derives its authority from their will, then there is an end of the argument. The right claimed for a State, of defending her reserved powers against the General Government, would be an absurdity. Viewing the American people collectively as the source of political power, the rights of the States would be mere concessions—concessions from the common majority, and to be revoked by them with the same facility that they were granted. The States would, on this supposition, bear to the Union the same relation that counties do to the States; and it would, in that case, be just as preposterous to discuss the right of interposition, on the part of a State, against the General Government, as that of the counties against the States themselves. That a large portion of the people of the United States thus regard the relation between the State and the General Government, including many who call themselves the friends of State Rights and opponents of consolidation, can scarcely be doubted; as it is only on that supposition it can be explained that so many of that description should denounce the doctrine for which the State contends, as so absurd. But fortunately, the supposition is entirely destitute of truth. So far from the Conititution being the work of the American

people collectively, no such political body either now or ever did exist. In that character the people of this country never performed a single political act, nor indeed can, without an entire revolution in all our political relations.

"I challenge an instance. From the beginning, and in all the changes of political existence through which we have passed, the people of the United States have been united as forming political communities, and not as individuals. Even in the first stage of existence, they formed distinct colonies, independent of each other, and politically united only through the British crown. In their first imperfect union, for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the mother-country, they united as distinct political communities; and passing from their colonial condition, in the act announcing their independence to the world, they declared themselves, by name and enumeration, free and independent States. In that character, they formed the old confederation; and when it was proposed to supersede the articles of the confederation, by the present Constitution, they met in Convention as States, acted and voted as States; and the Constitution, when formed, was submitted for ratification to the people of the several States; it was ratified by them as States, each State for itself; each, by its ratification, binding its own citizens; the parts thus separately binding themselves, and not the whole the parts; to which, if it be added, that it is declared, in the preamble of the Constitution, to be ordained by the people of the *United States*, and in the article of ratification, when ratified, it is declared '*to be binding between the States so ratifying*'—the conclusion is inevitable that the Constitution is the work of the people of the States, considered as separate and independent political communities; that they are its authors—their power created it, their voice clothed it with authority—that the Government formed is really their agent; and that the Union, of which the Constitution is the bond, is a union of States, and not of individuals. No one who regards his character for intelligence and truth, has ever ventured directly to deny these facts so certain; but while they are too certain for denial, they are also too conclusive in favor of the rights of the States for admission."

The crisis at length came. The passage of the tariff Act of 1832, proclaimed on all sides to be a final adjustment, could not be satisfactory to South Carolina. It was too inconsiderable in the amount of its reductions, to arrest the policy of distribution; whilst, by its exemption from taxation to the manufacturers, it was more of a protective tariff in principle, than the Act of 1828. The resistance party in South Carolina carried the elections in the fall. The Legislature, by the two-thirds

majority, called a Convention of the people. The times were dark and lowering; and South Carolina required at the helm of her affairs a man of undoubted sagacity, patriotism, and courage. She turned her eyes to Gen. Robert Y. Hayne, her Senator in Congress.

Gen. Hayne was the idol of the people, and repaid their devotion by a fidelity as true as theirs. He loved South Carolina as the knight of old his bride. He loved popularity, not for the sake of its honors or emoluments, but because the heart of his humanity delighted to beat in unison with the warm pulsations of others. He rejoiced in the public service, as the boy who laughs and bounds and drives the ball before him. His manner were the perfection of frank and winning courtesy. But the spirit of the soldier radiated from every look and tone. In obeying the voice of the State, he brought to her service a determination to protect her from aggression or invasion, which no terrors could daunt. He stood, the proud delight and confidence of all. His inaugural address, on assuming the office of Governor, penetrated the souls of all who heard him, and drew tears of kindred sympathy from some of the sternest of us. He was an orator in the full meaning of oratory, the art of persuasion. Free and fast, the words floated on his silvery voice, whilst ingenuous and manly candour gave potency to the arguments of his fine intellect. In the meridian of his powers he left public life; and borne along by the prosperity and the ambitious imagination of the country, entered, with his usual intrepidity, into the great scheme of uniting, by iron bonds, the South and West in commercial intercourse. His name would be written on the Alleganies, and future generations would bless the wisdom and energy by which this great work was accomplished. But convulsion and ruin swept over the commercial world. The project failed. His heart sunk beneath the calamity. Eager gain carped at his doings; jealous misfortune turned upon him her cold reproachful eye. He died, the noblest victim of those disastrous times.

Mr. CALHOUN was elected unanimously to fill the seat in the Senate of the United States, made vacant by the resignation of General Hayne. The Convention of the State met, and passed an ordinance nullifying the Tariff Laws of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. Mr. CALHOUN stood forth in the Senate, the leading champion of the State, placed by his policy in opposition to every State in the Union, and to all the authorities of the General Government, with President Jackson at its head.

Gen. JACKSON was a most remarkable man. Born and reared and living, the greater part of his life, in a newly settled country, his character partook of the defects such an existence naturally engenders. His

education was very limited. He learned nothing *from books*, of the great thoughts of the great men other ages have produced; but human nature, as he met it in the pathway of life, he thoroughly studied and understood. The feeble enforcement of the laws on our frontiers, necessarily made a man of his bold and reckless temper not very regardful of law. His will was his law, and with his own right arm he enforced it. Thus, from the circumstances of his life, as well as natural disposition, arose that aptitude and skill in contention which made him the most formidable of personal foes; but they also made him the most faithful of friends. He identified himself with those to whom he was attached, with a blind devotion which only very generous natures can feel, but which meaner spirits are so apt to take advantage of, and abuse. To conquer and rule men, if not his leading passion, was certainly his greatest attribute. With a powerful, although rude intellect, to support his fierce and iron will, he could not be otherwise than great—great amongst men—great in the field—great as a civil ruler. No man was ever more feared, no man was ever more implicitly obeyed, wherever he moved; confidence in him, and distrust in others, irresistibly spread over the minds of those who came within the charm of his fearful influence. Yet, in his turn, he was easily influenced by those who bowed before his sway, and had won his confidence. Placability was not possible in such a nature. He hated intensely, and forgave only those enemies whom he humbled, or who humbled themselves before his imperious domination.

Such was the man, at least at this period of his life, armed with all the authority of the Government, whom Mr. CALHOUN faced in this great controversy. With General Jackson, it was, perhaps, not only a political, but a personal contest. For in the correspondence which had taken place between Mr. CALHOUN and himself, relative to his Florida campaign, Mr. CALHOUN had fairly towered over him. And to his death, Mr. CALHOUN believed that this correspondence originated in the wily counsels of Mr. Van Buren; who sought, by instigating a quarrel between General Jackson and himself, to supersede him, through the influence of General Jackson, in the commanding position he then occupied in the Democratic party. Most assuredly, Mr. CALHOUN was the only man who stood in Mr. Van Buren's way for the Presidency. But this difference with General Jackson would not have destroyed his lofty position in the Democratic party, as second to General Jackson alone, had he not taken sides with his oppressed and suffering State, and trod with her the rugged paths of nullification. How far General Jackson's feelings of personal hostility carried him in this controversy,

it is impossible to affirm; but no one could have pursued a course more reckless and unconstitutional, according to those views of the Constitution which he had ever maintained. At a previous session of Congress, he was so satisfied with the positions assumed by General Hayne, in his speech on Foote's resolutions, in his contest with Mr. Webster, that he had it printed on satin, framed and hung up, as a memorial of his approbation. This speech distinctly affirmed the doctrine of nullification, and of secession. Yet when South Carolina acted on its principles, and Mr. CALHOUN represented them in the Senate of the United States, General Jackson abandoned them all; and his proclamation laid down the broadest doctrines of consolidation, in order to support the unconstitutional measures he required of Congress, to coerce South Carolina into submission. He virtually denied the right of secession, as well as that of nullification; and surpassed Mr. Webster himself in his federalism. The pen of Mr. Livingston was used in writing the proclammation; but Mr. Livingston, like General Jackson, had ever belonged to the Republican party, and had, moreover, delivered a speech on Foote's resolutions, maintaining the rights and sovereignty of the States, and repudiating the very doctrines he afterwards put forth in the proclamation. The tergiversation of General Jackson and Mr. Livingston, supported by the whole Republican party in Washington, in the passage of the Force Bill, shows how vain it is to rely on any principles, or any party, to arrest the policy of the predominating majority in the Union. As the Constitution was then disregarded, to enforce the policy and wishes of a mere majority; and the sword substituted for the guaranties it gave, so most probably it will be, in all future aggressions. Avarice will not give up its prey to right. Power will not put up its sword at the bidding of reason. Force will be the only bond of the Union—the sole arbiter of the limitations of the Constitution.

In his great speech on the Force bill, Mr. CALHOUN manifested the high and dauntless spirit which animated him. He met General Jackson's personal hostility, he met his doctrines and his policy, with a commanding maintenance of the right, and a lofty defiance of power, that must be admired as long as the remembrance of those times shall endure. He did not remain on the defensive, but in repelling General Jackson's imputations on his motives and patriotism in his proclamation, turned the weapons of his assailant against himself.

"The canvass, he said, in favor of Gen. Jackson's election to the Presidency, was carried on with great zeal, in conjunction with that active inquiry into the reserved rights of the States, on which final reliance was placed. But little did the people of Carolina dream, that

the man whom they were thus striving to elevate to the highest seat of power, would prove so utterly false to all their hopes. Man is indeed ignorant of the future; nor was there ever a stronger illustration of the observation, than is afforded by the result of that election. The very event on which they had built their hopes, has been turned against them; and the very individual to whom they looked as a deliverer, and whom, under that impression, they strove for so many years to elevate to power, is now the most powerful instrument in the hands of his and their bitterest opponents, to put down them and their cause.

"Scarcely had he been elected, when it became apparent, from the organization of his Cabinet, and other indications, that all their hopes of relief through him were blasted. The admission of a single individual into the Cabinet, under the circumstances which accompanied that admission, threw all into confusion. The mischievous influence over the President, through which this individual was admitted into the Cabinet, soon became apparent. Instead of turning his eyes forward to the period of the payment of the public debt, which was then near at hand, and to the present dangerous political crisis, which was inevitable, unless averted by a timely and wise system of measures, the attention of the President was absorbed by mere party arrangements and circumstances too disreputable to be mentioned here, except by the most distant allusion.

"Here I must pause for a moment, to repel a charge which has been so often made, and which even the President has reiterated in his proclamation—the charge that I have been actuated, in the part which I have taken, by feelings of disappointed ambition. I again repeat that I deeply regret the necessity of noticing myself in so important a discussion, and that nothing can induce me to advert to my own course, but the conviction that it is due to the cause, at which a blow is aimed through me. It is only in this view that I notice it.

"It illy became the Chief Magistrate to make this charge. The course which the State took, and which led to the present controversy between her and the General Government, was taken as far back as 1828—in the very midst of that severe canvass which placed him in power—and in that very canvass, Carolina openly avowed and zealously maintained those very principles which he, the Chief Magistrate, now officially pronounces to be treason and rebellion. That was the period at which he ought to have spoken. Having remained silent then, and having, under his approval, implied by that silence, received the support and the vote of the State, I, if a sense of decorum did not prevent it, might recriminate, with the double charge of deception and ingrati-

tude. My object, however, is not to assail the President, but to defend myself against a most unfounded charge. The time alone at which the course upon which this charge of disappointed ambition is founded, will, of itself, repel it, in the eye of every unprejudiced and honest man. The doctrine which I now sustain, under the present difficulties, I openly avowed and maintained, immediately after the Act of 1828—that "bill of abominations," as it has been so often and properly termed. Was I at that period disappointed in any views of ambition which I might be supposed to entertain? I was Vice President of the United States, elected by an overwhelming majority. I was a candidate for re-election on the ticket with General Jackson himself, with a certain prospect of a triumphant success of that ticket, and with a fair prospect of the highest office to which an American citizen can aspire. What was my course under these prospects? Did I look to my own advancement, or to an honest and faithful discharge of my duty? Let facts speak for themselves. The road of ambition lay before me—I had but to follow the corrupt tendency of the times—but I chose to tread the rugged path of duty."

His denunciations of the Force Bill are in a mingled strain of reasoning, invective, and defiance, worthy a great advocate of liberty. It is justly amenable to all his denunciations; for as an aggression on the rights and sovereignty of the States, it stands unparalleled. It was a sufficient cause for a speedy and violent revolution. It was, in fact, a revolution itself; for it reversed the whole order of the system of the Federal Government. Instead of the States being the masters and partners of the system, it made the General Government the master and proprietor of the States. They are its dependents, to be controlled by force, under the dictation of a majority in Congress, and a tyrannical President. There is not a word in the Constitution which justifies the assumption that the States ever intended to concede to the General Government the power to coerce them, by military force, under any circumstances. Even if a State made war on a sister State, there is no authority for the General Government to interfere. The power given to Congress "to repel invasions, and suppress insurrections," and to the President, "to see that the laws are faithfully executed," were not conceded by the States to enable the General Government *to coerce them*, but *to aid them* in preserving peace within their borders. But tyranny never wants pretexts for oppression; whilst its precedents never die, but with its power. In view of things around us, it is well to listen to the stern language of Mr. CALHOUN against this last claim of power on the part of the General Government, to seal consolidation by blood:

"This bill proceeds on the ground that the entire sovereignty of this country belongs to the American people, as forming one great community, and regards the States as mere fractions or counties, and not as an integral part of the Union, having no more right to resist the encroachments of the Government than a county has to resist the authority of a State; and treating such resistance as the lawless acts of so many individuals, without possessing sovereignty, or political rights. It has been said that the bill declares war against South Carolina. No! It decrees the massacre of her citizens! War has something ennobling about it, and, with all its horrors, brings into action the highest qualities, intellectual and moral. It was perhaps in the order of Providence that it should be permitted for that very purpose. But this bill declares no war, except indeed it be that which savages wage—a war, not against the community, but the citizens of whom that community is composed. But I regard it as worse than *savage* warfare—as an attempt to take away life under the color of law, without trial by jury, or any other safeguard which the Constitution has thrown around the life of the citizen! It authorizes the President, or even his deputies, when they may suppose the law to be violated, without the intervention of a court or jury, to kill without mercy or discrimination! It has been said, by the Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. Grundy) to be a measure of peace! Yes, such peace as the wolf gives to the lamb—the kite to the dove! Such peace as Russia gives to Poland, or death to its victim! A peace, by extinguishing the political existence of the State, by awing her into an abandonment of the exercise of every power which constitutes her a sovereign community. It is to South Carolina a question of self-preservation; and I pronounce it, that should this bill pass, and an attempt be made to enforce it, it will be resisted at every hazard —even that of death itself. Death is not the greatest calamity: there are others still more terrible to the free and brave, and among them may be placed the loss of liberty and honor. There are thousands of her brave sons, who, if need be, are prepared cheerfully to lay down their lives in defence of the State, and the great principles of constitutional liberty, for which she is contending. God forbid that this should become necessary! It never can be, unless this Government is resolved to bring the question to extremity, when her gallant sons will stand prepared to perform the last duty—to die nobly.

"It is said the bill ought to pass, because the law must be enforced. The imperial edict must be executed. It is under such sophistry, couched in general terms, without looking to the limitations which must ever exist in the practical exercise of power, that the most cruel and

despotic acts ever have been covered. It was such sophistry as this that cast Daniel into the lion's den, and the three Innocents into the fiery furnace. Under the same sophistry the bloody edicts of Nero and Caligula were executed. The law must be enforced. Yes, the Act imposing the 'tea tax' must be executed. This was the very argument which impelled Lord North and his administration in that mad career which forever separated us from the British crown. Under a similar sophistry, 'that religion must be protected,' how many martyrs have been tied to the stake! What! acting on this vague abstraction, are you prepared to enforce a law, without considering whether it be just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional? Will you collect money when it is acknowledged that it is not wanted? He who earns the money, who digs it from the earth with the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it, against the universe. No one has a right to touch it without his consent, except his Government, and it only to the extent of its legitimate wants; to take more is robbery, and you propose, by this bill, to enforce robbery, by murder. Yes: to this result you must come, by this miserable sophistry, this vague abstraction, of enforcing the law, without a regard to the fact whether the law be just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional.

"In the same spirit we are told that the Union must be preserved, without regard to the means. And how is it proposed to preserve the Union? By force! Does any man in his senses believe that this beautiful structure—this harmonious aggregate of States, produced by the joint consent of all—can be preserved by force? Its very introduction will be the certain destruction of this Federal Union. No! no! You cannot keep the States united in their constitutional and federal bonds by force. Force may indeed hold the parts together, but such union would be the bond between master and slave—a union of exaction on one side, and of unqualified obedience on the other. That *obedience* which, we are told by the Senator from Pennsylvania, is the Union! Yes, exaction on the side of the master; for this very bill is intended to collect what can no longer be called taxes—the voluntary contribution of a free people—but tribute—tribute, to be collected under the mouths of the cannon! Your Custom House is already transformed to a garrison, and that garrison with its batteries turned, not against the enemy of your country—but on subjects (I will not say citizens) on whom you propose to levy contributions. Has reason fled from our borders? Have we ceased to reflect? It is madness to suppose that the Union can be preserved by force. I tell you plainly, that the bill, should it pass, cannot be enforced. It will prove only a blot

upon your statute-book—a reproach to the year, and a disgrace to the American Senate. I repeat that it will not be executed; it will rouse the dormant spirit of the people, and open their eyes to the approach of despotism. The country has sunk into avarice and political corruption, from which nothing can arouse it, but some measure on the part of Government, of folly and madness, such as that now under consideration."

The concluding paragraph of this speech developes so truly the nature of the contest, and its results, that I cannot forbear transcribing it.

"We have now sufficient experience to ascertain that the tendency to conflict, in the action of the General Government, is between the southern and other sections. The latter, having a decided majority, must habitually be possessed of the powers of the Government, both in this and in the other House; and being governed by that instinctive love of power, so natural to the human breast, they must become the advocates of the power of Government, and in the same degree opposed to the limitations, while the weaker section is necessarily thrown on the other side of the limitations. One section is the natural guardian of the delegated powers, and the other of the reserved; and the struggle on the side of the former will be to enlarge the powers, while that on the opposite side will be to restrain them within their constitutional limits. The contest will, in fact, be a contest between power and liberty, and such I consider the present—a contest in which the weaker section, with its peculiar labor, productions and institutions, has at stake all that can be dear to preserve. Should we be able to maintain, in their full vigor, our reserved rights, liberty and prosperity will be our portion; but if we yield, and permit the stronger interest to concentrate within itself all the powers of the Government, then will our fate be more wretched than that of the aborigines whom we have expelled. In this great struggle between the delegated and reserved powers, so far from repining that my lot and those whom I represent is cast on the side of the latter, I rejoice that such is the fact; for though we participate in but few of the advantages of the Government, we are compensated, and more than compensated, in not being so much exposed to its corruptions. Nor do I repine that the duty so difficult to be discharged as the defence of the reserved powers against, apparently, such fearful odds, has been assigned to us. To discharge successfully this high duty, requires the highest qualities, moral and intellectual; and should we perform it with a zeal and ability in proportion to its magnitude, instead of being mere planters, our section will become distin-

guished for its patriots and statesmen. But, on the other hand, if we prove unworthy of this high destiny—if we yield to the steady encroachments of power, the severest calamity and most debasing corruption will overspread the land. Every Southern man, true to the interests of his section, and faithful to the duties which Providence has allotted to him, will be forever excluded from the honors and emoluments of this Government, which will be reserved for those only who have qualified themselves by political prostitution."

Mr. CALHOUN was not left to take the whole field of debate to himself. Mr. Webster, the greatest advocate for consolidation, since the day of Alexander Hamilton, undertook to reply to the principles laid down in certain resolutions he had offered in the Senate, affirmative of the constitutional doctrines on which rested the right of State interposition. I am not, I think, governed by any undue partiality, when I say that no unprejudiced mind can read his reply to Mr. Webster, without yielding the palm of victory to Mr. CALHOUN. Take Mr. Mr. Webster's concessions, and he was overthrown by their inevitable deductions. Admit that the States were ever sovereign—and that the Constitution is a compact,—and the right of either State interposition or secession is inevitable. A more admirable specimen of logic in debate, was never embalmed in the English language. Mr. CALHOUN seemed to feel that he had at least a foeman worthy of his steel; and that the two great antagonistic principles of government, which had agitated the Union from its foundation, were now to grapple each other in a mortal death-struggle. He conquered. The triumph was ours; but where are the fruits of victory? Where is that constitutional liberty which the blazing sword of his spirit won for us in this great controversy?

The Tariff difficulty was terminated by the Tariff act of 1833—commonly called the Compromise Act. This Act was introduced by Mr. Clay into the Senate of the United States; and supported by him as a compromise, and a final adjustment of the Tariff question. Its whole merit consisted in its finality. It proposed to continue the protective policy for nine years, in order that those engaged in manufactures should have due time to accommodate their interests to the change of policy, which it would ordain. For seven years the reductions of the duties were to be very inconsiderable, being only ten per cent. of the excesses over 20 per cent.; but in the two last years, the remaining excess was to come down to 20 per cent. *ad valorem:* and here, at this level as a maximum, with a free list for the benefit of the manufacturers, the Tariff was to remain forever.

A compromise with wrong doers, is always of doubtful wisdom; for those who have not principles to restrain them from the perpetration of injustice in the first instance, will seldom be withheld from renewing it by any mere consideration of good faith. Such men are far more apt to practice hypocrisy for the purpose of disarming opposition, than to carry out, with fidelity, engagements which must overthrow their policy. Mr. CALHOUN (as, at the time, the whole world, but the few in his secrets,) *believed* Mr. Clay, when he asserted, in the Senate, that the Act of '33 was a *final settlement* of the Tariff, and a final abandonment of the protective policy. It appears now, by his late confessions in the Senate, that he himself, in concert with the manufacturers, in proposing and passing this Act, meditated and practised a gigantic fraud upon the Senate and the country. Neither he nor they ever *intended* that the protective policy should be abandoned. They never intended that the Act should be in operation longer than the seven years, during which it gave ample protection to the manufacturers. They intended that before the last reductions should take place, by which the South was to be benefited, the Act was to be overthrown, and the protective policy renewed. When, however, by propositions in Congress, in consequence of the overflowing revenue which this Tariff produced, there was danger that the reductions of the first years should be hastened, Mr. Clay did not scruple to make appeals, on the floor of the Senate, to the Senators from South Carolina and the South, to maintain the solemn faith of this compromise. They did not maintain it; and Mr. CALHOUN, in his speech on the Tariff of 1842, alluding to Mr. Clay's pledges on these occasions, says: "That the Act of 1842 would entirely supersede the Compromise Act, and *violate pledges openly given her in this Chamber, by its distinguished author, and the present Governor of Massachusetts,* (Mr. Davis,) *then a member of this body, that if we of the South would adhere to the compromise, while it was operating favorably to the manufacturing interest, they would stand by it when it came to operate favorably to us.*"

But these public pledges did not alter the secret arrangements entered into with the manufacturers; and true to his secret, but false to his public pledges, Mr. Clay afterwards importuned President Van Buren to overthrow the compromise, by recommending increased duties. Failing in this, in 1842, he offered resolutions in the Senate, just before he resigned his seat, entirely at variance with its provisions. Mr. CALHOUN was ignorant of the premeditated treachery; but could not fail to see the open manifestation of it, in these resolutions, although they professed to respect the compromise. In his speech exposing

them, he said, "That while they profess to respect the Compromise Act, they violate it in almost every essential particular but one, the *ad valorem* principle; and even that, I fear, it is intended to set aside by the juggle of home valuation." He was not aware that this Act, from its inception, was a game of juggling, and nothing else, on the part of the manufacturers, and their great leader; and that their faith, like their policy, was only that of robbers. Of course, in 1842, so soon as they had the power, they carried out their secret purposes, and consummated their fraud by the entire overthrow of the Tariff Act of 1833. The Tariff of '42 was modified by the Tariff of '46, although identical in principle; but from the indications at our last session of Congress, the protective policy is again to be renewed in all its oppressive features, as the irrevocable policy of the master section of the Union.

I come now, gentlemen, to that last great subject on which Mr. CALHOUN rendered his last services to us and to the Union—the subject of slavery. His prophetic warnings and earnest endeavors to awake the public mind of the country, to the dangers which environed this question, must afford matter for profound contemplation, and the deepest admiration, to the future historian who shall record our times. He probably will narrate, that when Mr. CALHOUN died the Union lost its last and best counsellor and friend; and that when his great conservative spirit no longer stood in the councils of the country, to arrest the rising tide of consolidation, it rose unchecked, and bursting over the barriers of the Constitution, buried the Union beneath its foul and turbid waters.

The subject of slavery is difficult of comprehension to those only who study it in the light of abstract principles; and unfortunately these comprise the greater part of its enquirers. It is very largely a question of facts, which must necessarily qualify and alter all abstract reasoning concerning it. The very leaves of the forest, and the sands on the sea shore, vary in size and form. The whole animal creation, from the insect which crawls, to man, the lord of all, teems with variety. Nothing is equal—nothing is alike; whilst the broad marks of distinction and inequality are stamped on every species of every kind of animal or human existence. Yet the abolitionists, on the subject of slavery, insist upon it that all men, and races of men, are equal in their moral and intellectual endowments. If the hypotheses are true on which they rest their deductions, there will be no disputation as to their conclusions. Are all men equal? If so, then all ought to be, and, from the nature of things, will be, equally free. Are the races of men equal in intel-

lectual and moral attributes? If they are, they ought to enjoy, and must enjoy, equal privileges in society, and equal political rights. But what says Nature to these enquiries, answering from her analogies, throughout all creation, animate and inanimate? It has pleased the Almighty Creator of the universe, to make men unequal—unequal in intellect, in character and circumstances. As all men differ in external form and features, so do they differ in their internal, mental and moral characteristics. What is the result? Why, that the strong must rule, the weak serve. Would the weak be happier by ruling, instead of serving; or would the strong be happier by serving, instead of ruling? If it were possible to force into existence such an unnatural condition of things, it is plain that nothing but confusion and misery would be the result. Men, instead of occupying the spheres of duty and usefulness, to which they are best adapted, would be placed in those for which they are least qualified. By the natural order of things, in every age, and under all forms of government, there have been *the poor*—and there have been *those who serve*. Is it wrong that any should be poor, or that any should serve? Then blame the Creator, who has thus ordained things from the beginning, by making men, and the races of men, unequal; not man, who did not make, and cannot unmake, his nature. Where there is but one race in a community, there may be political equality in rights—but this cannot give equality in mind, character and condition. Servitude still prevails in one form or another, from a necessity as stern as the laws. But, where the races are different—and one race is inferior to the other—the inferior race must be exterminated, or fall into such a state of subjection as to present motives for their preservation to the stronger race. The Anglo-Saxon race, at least, will not amalgamate with others; and when any of the inferior races have been placed in a condition of competition and equality with them, annihilation has always been their doom, or they have left the country to the inferior race. Of all the races of men, the negro race is the most inferior. From the earliest records of history, they have been slaves to the other races, and have never risen, by their own unaided energies, from a condition of barbarism to any degree of enlightened civilization. In the condition of slavery alone have they ever been of any use to the world: and where the governance and protection this condition produces have been withdrawn, they have relapsed into indolence, ignorance and barbarism. This is the experience of the world. The hoarded facts of centuries are before us, to enlighten us on the subject of African slavery. All facts are despised; and fanaticism, with furious and mad abstractions, cries out for emancipation. Mr. CALHOUN was not slow

in perceiving the true bearings of the institution of African slavery in the Southern States. He was the first, I believe, of great Statesmen in the country, who denounced the cant—that slavery is an evil—a curse.

"I take higher ground," he exclaimed, "I hold that, in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States, between the two races, is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself called on to speak freely upon this subject, where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I appeal to facts. Never, before, has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came amongst us in a low, degraded and savage condition, and, in the course of a few generations, it has grown up, under the fostering care of our institutions, reviled as they have been, to its present comparatively civilized condition. This, with the rapid increase of numbers, is conclusive proof of the general happiness of the race, in spite of all exaggerated tales to the contrary. In the meantime, the white or European Race has not degenerated. It has kept pace with its brethren in other sections of the Union where slavery does not exist. It is odious to make comparisons; but I appeal to all sides, whether the South is not equal in virtue, intelligence and patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature. I ask whether we have not contributed our full share of talents and political wisdom, in forming and sustaining this political fabric; and whether we have not constantly inclined strongly to the side of liberty, and been the first to see, and the first to resist, the encroachments of power."

"The first in Congress to see, and the first to resist the encroachments of power," on this momentous subject, was, undoubtedly, our great Statesman. Go back with me, gentlemen, fourteen years, and behold Mr. CALHOUN standing in the Senate of the United States. He is opposing the reception of abolition petitions. Mark how his prophetic vision, looking before and after, takes in the whole scope of the past, the present, and the future, on this momentous question.

"Several years since, in a discussion, with one of the Senators from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) before this fell spirit had shewed itself, I then *predicted* that the doctrine of the Proclamation and the Force Bill—that this Government had a right, in the last resort, to determine the extent of its own powers, and enforce it at the point of the bayonet, which was so warmly maintained by that Senator—would, at no distant

day, arouse the dormantspirit of abolitionism; I told him that the doctrine was tantamount to the assumption of unlimited power, on the part of the Government, and that such would be the impression on the public mind in a large portion of the Union. The consequence would be inevitable—a large portion of the Northern States believed slavery to be a sin, and would believe it to be an obligation of conscience to abolish it, if they should feel themselves in any degree responsible for its continuance, and that his doctrine would, necessarily, lead to the belief of such responsibility. I then *predicted* that it would commence, as it has, with this fanatical portion of society; and that they would begin their operations on the weak, the ignorant, the young, and the thoughtless, and would gradually extend upwards, till they became strong enough to obtain political control, when he, and others holding the highest stations in society, would, however reluctant, be compelled to yield to their doctrine, or be driven into obscurity. But four years have since elapsed, and all this is already in a course of regular fulfilment.

"Standing at the point of time at which we have now arrived, it will not be more difficult to trace the course of *future events* than it was then.

"Those who imagine that the spirit now abroad in the North will die away of itself, without a shock or convulsion, have formed a very inadequate conception of its real character. It will continue to rise and spread, unless prompt and efficient measures to stay its progress be adopted. Already it has taken possession of the pulpit, of the schools, and, to a considerable extent, of the press; those great instruments by which the mind of the rising generation will be formed. However sound the great body of the non-slaveholding States are at present, in a few years they will be succeeded by those who will have been taught to hate the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained towards another. It is easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible, under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the two great sections, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements will burst the Union asunder, as powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot co-exist. As the friend of the Union, I openly proclaim it; and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of men to arrest the course of events.

* * * * We love and cherish the Union, we re-

member with the kindest feelings our common origin, with pride our common achievements—and fondly anticipate the common greatness and glory that seem to await us; but origin, achievements and anticipations of coming greatness are to us as nothing compared to this question. It is to us a vital question. It involves not only our liberty, but what is greater, (if, to freemen any thing can be) existence itself. The relation which now exists between the two races in the slaveholding States, has existed for two centuries. It has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength. It has entered into and modified all our institutions, civil and political. None other can be substituted. We will not—cannot permit it to be destroyed. If we were base enough to do so, we would be traitors to our section, to ourselves, our families, and to posterity. It is our anxious desire to protect and preserve this relation, by the joint action of this Government, and the confederated States of the Union; but if, instead of closing the door,—if, instead of denying all jurisdiction and all interference in this question—the doors of Congress are to be thrown open; and if we are to be exposed here, in the heart of the Union, to an endless attack on our rights, our character and institutions—if the other States are to stand and look on without attempting to suppress these attacks originating within their borders; and, finally, if this is to be our fixed and permanent condition as members of this confederacy, we will then be compelled to turn our eyes on ourself. Come what will, should it cost every drop of blood, and every cent of property, we must defend ourselves; and if compelled, we would stand justified by all laws, human and divine.

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"If we do not defend ourselves, none will defend us; if we yield, we will be more and more pressed as we recede; and if we submit, we will be trampled under foot. Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics. That gained, the next step would be, to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the whites; and that being effected, we would soon find the present condition of the two races reversed. They, and their Northern allies, would be the masters, and we the slaves. * * * * * * *

"There is but one way to defend ourselves. We must meet the enemy on the frontier—on the question of receiving; we must secure that important pass—it is our Thermopylæ. The power of resistance, by an universal law of our nature, is on the exterior. Break through the shell—penetrate the crust, and there is no resistance within. In the present contest, the question of receiving constitutes our frontier. It is the first, the exterior question; that covers and protects all the

others. Let it be penetrated by receiving this petition, and *not a point of resistance can be found within, as far as this Government is concerned.* If we cannot maintain ourselves there, we cannot on any interior position. Of all the questions that can be raised, there is not one on which we can rally on ground more tenable for ourselves, or more untenable for our opponents, not excepting the ultimate question of abolition in the States. For our right to reject this petition, is as clear and unquestionable, as that Congress has no right to abolish slavery in the States."

Gentlemen, fourteen years have passed since the Free States, by the presentation of abolition petitions, first evinced their intention to interfere with the institution of slavery in the South. Fourteen years have now shed their light on the predictions, warnings, and policy of Mr. CALHOUN. His predictions have been fulfilled, his warnings realized, and his course sustained. It may be a question of doubt whether, after the triumph of consolidation in the Tariff Act of 1828, and the Force Bill, the Union could possibly have been preserved, or was, indeed, worth preserving, with its warped and vicious tendencies; for interference with the subject of slavery inevitably followed. But if the Union could have been preserved, there was one, and but *one* way of saving it—by shutting out the subject of slavery from the halls of Congress. The 21st. Rule excluded abolition petitions from the consideration of Congress. It was the only expedient by which the South could be protected from incendiary agitations. And upon its preservation depended Southern freedom and equality, and the continuance of the Union. It was, as Mr. CALHOUN said, our *frontier—the Thermopylæ* of the South. And the determination of the North to overleap its barriers, was only proof of the necessity of its continuance, and of the rising and presumptuous spirit of abolition. This determination should have been met by a determination equally strong on the part of the South, to dissolve the Union the instant of its abrogation. If, at this early stage of the controversy, five States, nay two States, of the South, had instructed their Representatives to withdraw from Congress immediately on such an exigency, the Rule would have remained to this day; or if repealed, and the Union in consequence had been dissolved, the result would have been, new guaranties under a re-Union, which would have assured to the South permanent equality and respect. But after the 21st Rule was repealed in the House of Representatives, and the South had tamely submitted, "it was beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events." The only alternatives left to the South were, an abolition government, or a dissolution of the Union. Things

have not since changed. The same alternatives now remain before us. They have only gone on to their maturer development.

The emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands gave a powerful stimulus to anti-slavery fanaticism in the Free States of the Union. England, in this, followed France. She had set the example, when in the drunken and bloody saturnalia of her first Revolution, she liberated the slaves of St. Domingo. And what were the results of that first liberation of the African slave? What encouragement to pursue this policy was afforded by that experiment to other nations? Under negro dominion, the exports of the Island fell, in forty years, from 20,000,000, annually, to 2,000,000. The culture of sugar was abandoned; and the chief source of commerce remaining, was the coffee gathered from the spontaneous production of the ground, in places where old plantations formerly stood. Ignorance and superstition, and a barbarism truly African, settled over the Queen Island of the Antilles. England saw the result, and yet despite experience, borne away by fanaticism, incredulous of the real character of the negro, determined to make herself the experiment of negro emancipation. The dogma, that free labor is more profitable than slave labor—because a man will work more for himself than for another—is true of the Anglo Saxon race. The British statesmen supposed it would be true of the negro also. They anticipated increased production from the West India Islands, and, consequently, cheaper supplies to British subjects and to the world, of all the tropical productions. These, in all ages, have been the chief resource and instruments of commerce; because most contributing to the necessities and comforts of man.

In the midst of the experiment, three vessels, with slaves on board, were driven, by stress of weather, at different times, from the coast of the United States into British West India Ports. The slaves were taken forcibly out of the vessels, and were emancipated. The Government of the United States required compensation for the negroes thus liberated. In the case of two of the vessels, the demand was granted, because the apprentice system, preparatory to entire emancipation in the British West India Islands, had not terminated. But it was refused in the case of the third—the Enterprise—because, at the time she entered the British port, slavery had been abolished by law. In this decision of the British Government, the administration of Mr. Van Buren acquiesced. But Mr. CALHOUN was not satisfied. He saw that acquiescence had the effect of throwing the institution of slavery without the pale of the laws of the nations. All other property was deemed inviolable, was sacredly protected from interference, when driven by

the act of God into a friendly port. And if slaves were to be excepted, they were excepted only because, by the laws of nations, they are *not property*. He, therefore, moved resolutions in the Senate, asserting the true doctrine on this point, and maintained them by a most able speech. The speech was unanswered; the resolutions passed the Senate; and in the negotiations of the Treaty of Washington, assurances were given by the British negotiator, that outrages of this kind should never be repeated. They have never been repeated.

A few years passed by, and in the British West India Islands the practical effects of emancipation became visible. They, too, took the downward course of St. Domingo; and instead of increased supplies of the tropical productions by African free labor, a rapid decline in all productions whatsoever, characterize the daily retrogression of the negro, to his condition in his native jungle. Great Britain awakes from her dream of independence. As her West Indies decline in exports, she sees herself more and more dependent on Brazil, Cuba and the United States for their slave-grown produce. What course shall we pursue to retrieve her folly? Controlling in any way the tropical productions, she would achieve her own independence and control the commerce of the world. And how can this be done? Abolish slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the United States—let negro indolence and barbarism prevail over these regions, as in Hayti and her own West Indies; and the East Indies, under her direction, would become the only source of supplying the world with the produce of the tropics. This is the only clue (giving the politicians of England credit for statesmanship) to their policy in striving to extend emancipation over Texas, and to keep her out of the Union. There is no statesmanship in fanaticism. Fanaticism is feebler reason, mastered by a stronger imagination or passion. Its mists, if any had obscured the vision of British statesmen, must have been dispelled when they repealed the duties in favor of their West India colonies, and against slave-grown productions.

Mr. CALHOUN saw through this policy: Texas became necessary to the safety of the South—as necessary then, as California and New Mexico are now—to prevent the circumscribing and hemming-in of the South, by free States, hostile to her institutions. With a view to the protection of the South on this subject, he left his retirement and accepted the appointment of Secretary of State, tendered him by President Tyler, and unanimously confirmed by the Senate, without a reference. He made a treaty, admitting Texas into the Union. It failed in the Senate; but the discussion awakened at the rejection of

the treaty, had entered into the popular mind; and to enlighten it still further, Mr. CALHOUN wrote that admirable dispatch to Mr. King, our Minister to France. Here he exposed the designs of England, exhibiting the true bearing of the annexation of Texas upon other nations. To this dispatch, perhaps, more than to any other cause, we may attribute the final success of the measure. It lifted the question above mere sectional considerations, and gave it an aspect entirely new. Shall we be dependent on England, or England on us? shall England or shall the United States control the commerce of the world? Such views operated powerfully all over the country, but especially in the South, whose ruin was essential to the success of the British scheme. At the next Congress, the measure of annexing Texas was again brought forward, and was carried. In gaining this great victory for the South, many able men co-operated. It may not be just to them to say, as was alleged in the Senate Chamber, that Mr. CALHOUN was *the author* of this annexation: it is, however, safe to affirm, that, *but* for Mr. CALHOUN, Texas would never have been a part of the Union.

This measure being happily concluded, it was thought by many that the institution of slavery was secure from the intervention of Northern fanatics at home, or of foreign nations abroad. It proved, however, to be but another step in the progress of things, making up for the South the grand alternative of *Abolition* or *Disunion*.

Out of the annexation of Texas sprung the Mexican War. Mr. CALHOUN perceived that a war with Mexico would jeopard all advantages the South had just won by the acquisition of Texas. At its very commencement, the North declared their intention to appropriate all territory that might be acquired from Mexico, by either conquest or treaty. Those who believed that the General Government was irreformable—that nothing could arrest its downward progress to consolidation—that it was irretrievably gone under the dominion of the Free States, and that the South would have sooner or later to seek safety from the dangers and oppressions it would spread over them, in a dissolution of the Union, were not at all alarmed at such declarations. Their fulfilment would only force on that issue between the free and slave States which must come, and which every consideration of policy on the part of the slave States required should be speedily determined. But Mr. CALHOUN had no sympathy with views like these. He loved the Union for itself. He loved it, because it had been the object of his great and patriotic labors—the theatre of all his achievements. The South he loved more: "There he had garnered up his heart, where either he must live or bear no life." And the dread alternative of choosing

between them, he could not contemplate without grief and alarm. To save both, he opposed the Mexican War. He opposed it in its inception, as unnecessary—in its continuance, as boding only evil.

"Every Senator knows," said he, in one of his speeches during the war, "that I was opposed to the war; but no one knows but myself the depth of that opposition. With my conceptions of its character and *consequences*, it was impossible for me to vote for it. When, accordingly, I was deserted by every friend on this side the House, including my then honorable colleague among the rest, (Mr. McDuffie,) I was not shaken in the least degree in reference to my course. On the passage of the Act recognizing the war, I said, to many of my friends, that a deed had been done from which the country would not be able to recover for a long time, if ever;" and added, "it has dropped a curtain between the present and the future, which to me is impenetrable; and for the first time in my life, I am unable to see the future." He also added, "that it has closed the *first* volume of our political history under the Constitution, and opened the *second;* and that no mortal could tell what would be written in it."

How majestic his solitary position in the Senate on this occasion! How sad his prophetic forebodings! The curtain is lifting, and the hideous features of triumphant Abolition are scowling behind it. The new volume of our political history is opened, and Revolution is written on its pages; revolution, by consolidation—or revolution, by disunion. His speech on the Three Million Bill showed from whence the darkness rose which obscured his mental vision.

"But there is," he said, "a still deeper, a still more *terrific difficulty* to be met—a difficulty more vital than those to which I have alluded—a difficulty arising out of a division of sentiment, which went to the *very foundation of our Government.* How should these lands be disposed of, if any were acquired? To whose benefit should they accrue? Should they accrue to the exclusive benefit of one portion of the Union? We were told, and he was fearful that appearances too well justified the assertion, that all parties in the non-slaveholding portion of the Union insisted that they should have the exclusive control of this acquired territory—that such provision should be made as should exclude those who were interested in the institutions of the South from a participation in the advantages to be derived from the application of those institutions to the territory thus acquired.

"Sir, if the non-slaveholding States, having no other interest in the question excepting their aversion to slavery—if *they* can come to this conclusion, with no interest in the matter but this, I turn and ask

gentlemen what must be the feeling of the population of the slaveholding States, who are to be deprived of their constitutional rights, and despoiled of the property belonging to them—assailed in the most vulnerable point (for to them this question was a question of safety, of self-preservation, and not a mere question of policy): and thus to be despoiled by those who were not concerned? If there were sternness and determination on one side, they might be assured there would be on the other."

But not content with expressing his opinions on the Three Million Bill, Mr. CALHOUN afterwards offered a series of resolutions on this "still more terrible difficulty," affirming the equal constitutional rights of the States to any territory which may be acquired by the war. These resolutions he supported by a speech, which concluded in the following strain:

"I see my way in the Constitution. I cannot in any compromise. A compromise is but an act of Congress. It may be overruled at any time. It gives us no security. But the Constitution is stable. It is a rock. On it we can stand. It is a firm and stable ground, on which we can better stand in opposition to fanaticism than on the shifting sands of compromise. Let us be done with compromises. Let us go back and stand upon the Constitution!

"Well, sir, what if the decision of this body shall deny us this high constitutional right, not the less clear because deduced from the whole body of the instrument, and the nature of the subject to which it relates? What, then, is the question? I will not undertake to decide. It is a question for our constituents—the slaveholding States—a solemn and a great question. If the decision should be adverse, I trust and do believe that they will take under solemn consideration what they ought to do. I give no advice. It would be hazardous and dangerous for me to do so. But I may speak as an individual member of that section of the Union. There I drew my first breath. There are all my hopes. There are my family and connections. I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a Southern man, and a slaveholder—a kind and merciful one, I trust—and none the worse for being a slaveholder. I say, for one, I would rather meet *any extremity on earth*, than *give up one inch of our equality—one inch of what belongs to us, as members of this great Republic.* What! acknowledge inferiority? The surrender of life is nothing to sinking down into acknowledged inferiority.

"I have examined this subject largely—widely. I think I see the future, if we do not stand up as we ought. In my humble opinion in that case, the condition of Ireland is prosperous and happy—the con-

dition of Hindostan is prosperous and happy—the condition of Jamaica is prosperous and happy, to what the Southern States will be, if they should not *now* stand up manfully in defence of their rights."

The war continued; and the year after, was closed. The "*terrific difficulty*" came. We acquired an immense extent of territory from Mexico, and the free States manifested the determination of excluding the slave States, and of taking the whole of it for themselves. A caucus of the Southern representatives in Congress assembled in the Senate Chamber. The result of their counsels was, an Address to the people of the Southern States, written by Mr. CALHOUN, and signed by a large portion of the Southern representatives. It contained nothing but a simple statement of facts—the more powerful, from its very simplicity. At that session all efforts at compromise were defeated by the free States, in combination with a few Southern representatives. It was clear that the free States would be content with nothing short of the total exclusion of the Southern States from all our territories. Mr. CALHOUN'S health, long feeble, now gave manifest signs of a sure decline. He fainted three times during the session, in the lobby of the Senate—worn out by anxiety and working—but working on still. On one of these occasions I heard that he had fallen, and had been borne into the Vice President's room. I hastened to him, and found him sitting on a sofa by the fireside, with his coat and waistcoat off. It was a cold, bitter day. As I approached him, he said, extending his hand —"Ah! Mr. Rhett, my career is nearly done. The great battle must be fought by you younger men." "I hope not, sir," was my reply— "for never was your life more precious, or your counsels more needed for the guidance and salvation of the South." He answered—"*there*, indeed, is my only regret at going—the South—the poor South!" and his eyes filled with tears. I entreated him to put on his clothes. "I cannot," he said—"I am burning up—wait until I am cool." He *was* burning up—burning up by the internal fire of his own intense spirit, fed by ever restless anxieties for the Union, and his own, his beloved South. At the earnest remonstrances of friends, he kept out of the Senate Chamber, and his health seemed to improve towards the close of this session; but few expected to see him again in Washington. They did not know the man—how self-abandoned was his sense of duty —how insignificant was health or life, where the safety or honor of the South or his native State was concerned. He believed—and believed truly, that the next session of Congress would settle—and settle forever, for good or evil, the destiny of the Union and the South.

To have strength enough to reach Washington at the opening of

Congress, and to be there—was a necessary sequence in the nature of things. But he was soon driven to his chamber, by the stern hand of approaching death. With his mind and heart laboring, and full with the portentous issues before the country, he wrote in his sick chamber that last effort of his great mind—his last speech—that master-piece of lucid logic, calm wisdom, and noble patriotism, which *we—we*, his countrymen, for whom he lived and died, "will not willingly let die." Tablets of brass or marble, on which it may be recorded, may fail; but it shall not fail in its effects. It shall live forever, in the redeemed honor and liberties of the South. It was the last flash of the sun, to show the ship of State her only port of safety, as darkness and the howling tempest closed around her. He died—for his work was done. If the South would not heed his warnings and counsels, why should he live? But if she regarded them—and would more regard them, when uttered by his dying lips—why should he not die? His work was done. Yet he wished for one more hour in the Senate Chamber, ere he departed. What longed he to utter there? Had his mighty spirit devised some new way to save the Union, consistent with the liberties of the South? Or did he wish to utter there that word which all his lifetime he could not speak, although wrong and oppression tortured him—that word, which dying despair could alone wring from his aching heart—disunion!! The secret counsels of that longed-for hour, he was not permitted to disclose, and they lie buried with him in his grave; but he had said enough for duty—enough for liberty and honor—enough for our salvation. If we will not heed his warnings, and follow the counsels he has left us, neither would we be persuaded, though he rose from the dead.

GENTLEMEN:—The character of Mr. CALHOUN has been drawn by a hundred pens, which, although differing in their coloring, agree in the grand features which composed it. As a Statesman, he will be estimated in our day according to party affinities. He stood too often above the two great parties of the country, not to be hated by the party bigots of both; but the time will come, perhaps is near at hand, when the passions and prejudices which party awakens, will be allayed—when events will have tested the wisdom of his counsels, and the correctness of his principles—and history, with her iron pen, will engrave on her imperishable tablets, the true character of his statesmanship. She will, probably, record that, as a practical Statesman, his great defect was, that he pursued principles too exclusively. Principles are unerring; but in their practice and application in the affairs of Government, we have to deal with erring man. Hence, the necessity often of qualifica-

tion. Hence, too, the necessity, in public life, of address on the part of a great political leader to obtain success in the control and governance of men—kindness towards their dissent—patience with their errors—and a boundless charity. Mr. CALHOUN sunk himself too much, and put his principles too high, in his personal relations. If this feature of his character made him, apparently, too easily part with friends, it made him, also, the most placable of foes. No matter what had been his former personal relations, he could co-operate with any one in pursuing any policy he thought the interest of the country required. The politics of some men are made by their associations and friendships—the politics of others are controlled by their enmities. Mr. CALHOUN was above all personal influences. The good of his country, according to those great principles he had wrought out, appeared to govern his whole political course. This peculiarity made him a great Statesman; but he was not a great party leader. He understood principles—he understood how they should be enforced—but he did not understand how best to control and use, for their enforcement, that compound of truth and error—reason and prejudice—passion and weakness—man. To this cause, perhaps, more than to any other, it may be attributed that, although the head of his party in creating and elaborating its principles, he never obtained the highest office it could bestow. If he sought this highest office—he sought it and would have accepted it, only for the purpose of enforcing his principles. Conscious of his pure intents and mighty powers, he believed that if he had the control of the administration of the Government, he could keep it within the prescribed limits of the Constitution, and save and perpetuate the Union. But could he, could any man, however great, popular, and just, have arrested the onward march of consolidation, under the unscrupulous ambition, fanaticism, and avarice of the Free States? Aristotle, Locke, Sydney, Russell, Hume, were theoretical Statesmen. Pericles, Walpole, Chatham, Fox, Peel, were practical Statesmen. Burke was both a theoretical and a practical Statesman—and the greatest in the combination of all the qualifications of statesmanship England has ever produced. But, unfortunately, he lived at a time, and amidst circumstances, which induced him to lean on the side of order, privilege, and government, rather than that of liberty. Mr. CALHOUN, although his inferior in cultivation and in the gorgeous splendor of his imagination—was not his inferior in naked reasoning, deep analysis, and a profound knowledge of the principles of free Government. The one had the British Constistitution, with all its anomalies and abuses, to defend—the other, the Constitution of the United States, in its federative and free principles,

(the most wonderful political production of the world) to elucidate and enforce. Burke exhibited a more beautiful efflorescence—but CALHOUN the soundest fruit. In theoretical statesmanship, Aristotle, from amongst the ancients, will, probably, alone stand beside him; but as a practical Statesman, many, both in ancient and modern times, may rank above him; because he failed in enforcing his policy. But he did not look to his personal success, nor to the practical enforcement of his policy, as the measure of his fame. He looked to future ages; and trusting to the improvement of men in civilization, and the extension of free Governments, he anticipated the happy period, when the liberties of the world, in a thousand Republics, would rest on the mighty foundations his genius had wrought out and laid down for their erection and eternal duration. Turning to the immortality before us in our after life, the remembrance of us by the world we must soon leave, may be of very little moment. This is the voice of reason. And yet, there is a yearning for a name amongst future generations—there is a thirst to live with them, by the blessings we may impart, which has nerved the noblest minds to the noblest efforts and sacrifices. It was from this yearning on earth after a glorious immortality, that the ancient philosopher inferred the soul's immortality in an after life. Mr. CALHOUN, doubtless, believed the great principles of free government he originated and advocated, to be as eternal as truth itself, and as lasting as man; and was he not animated, too, with the inspiring hope that his name would live with them in all after ages? Thousands of generous spirits, since the entrance of civilized man on this continent, have lived and died with the hope of a prolonged fame amongst future generations; but I can discover but two men who will probably obtain this fame—WASHINGTON and CALHOUN—the former, as the founder of a great Republic—the latter, as the discoverer of the true principles of free government. The political knaves and charlatans of our day, who have overturned the Constitution of the United States, with all its beautiful proportions, and wonderful contrivances for the perpetuation of liberty, will only be remembered, if remembered at all, amongst the vulgar herd who have cursed their generation by their faithless fanaticism, avarice, or ambition.

Mr. CALHOUN's mind, in its characteristics, was as striking as it was great. It stood forth like the Egyptian Pyramids—vast, simple, and grand. It was essentially Southern, with none of that affectation, pretension, and glitter about it, which deforms the literature and oratory of the Northern people. Meretricious ornament was as unsuitable to it as verdure on the top of the highest Andes. No flowers grew on the

banks of the mighty river of his thoughts, as it broke its way through mountains, and left rocks and gigantic cliffs beetling over it. Yet there is an earnestness and elevation in his language, which bears the mind on, as if on a swift, deep current. His close, compact, and impregnable logic, moved with the precision and measured tread of a Spartan phalanx. Stone upon stone, he reared the pile of his fair argument, until at length it stood a lofty temple, with its steeples and domes looking up to heaven, and bathed in the light of eternal truth. If he failed to convince, (for conviction is not always the result of reason) he never failed to elicit admiration or wonder at the expositions of his intellect. In debate, he was collected and deliberate, but when warmed in argument, he looked the embodiment of fiery thought. In conversation, he failed—that is, he failed for such a mind—because his conversation was reasoning. Conversation in society is not sought for the purpose of business or instruction; still less, for the exercise of logical reasoning. It is rather sought, to play with, or to banish thought, than to excite it. Amusement—intellectual amusement—the amusement which wit imparts, or the affections excite, are the great objects of conversation. Mr. CALHOUN, although always cheerful, had but little wit, and still less of that acerbity or malignity of temper, which gives wit its sharpest edge and deepest interest in exposing the folly or weaknesses of others. He discoursed, rather than conversed; and so rapid and forcible were his thoughts, that his hearers listened and admired rather than replied, for comprehension was often at fault. Young men, especially, delighted to look down into his intellect, as if hanging over the deep clear lakes of Florida, where the smallest pebbles and shells are seen at the greatest depths.

But the crowning glory of Mr. CALHOUN'S character was in his private life. He said himself, on one occasion to a friend—"I have been defamed and vilified in every particular but in my private life; and thank God! there, neither envy, malice, nor falsehood, has dared to assail me." When the sad news of his death arrived, his neighbors, with whom he had lived thirty years, with one accord assembled together, and having expressed their grief at their loss, they sent a deputation to request that his body may be laid amongst them. They wished to cherish the sad semblance of still being near him; and to bring their children to the green sod where he lay, and tell them of the simple-hearted friend—the good counsellor—the blessed peace-maker—the pure and deathless patriot, whose bosom it covers. But what shall we say of that patience—that purity—that tenderness—with which he embraced all beneath his roof? Shall we speak of those domestic rela-

tions, which give us all that is left us of our first estate; and whose dissolution by the hand of death, there is but one Physician who can cure—there is but one balm which can heal? Shall we enter into his home, where bleeding hearts are still mourning *his* absence and *their* desolation—and tearful eyes are looking at those places which once knew him, but shall now know him no more forever? No, no!—We turn away in grief for them—in grief for ourselves.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, I have finished, although feebly performed, the mournful task assigned me. Our last honors to the honored dead, are about to close. *You* were not ungrateful for the services he rendered you; and *he* tried to repay you by a filial devotion, which ceased only with life. State and Statesman, you have held to each other, as only those can do, who esteem and love one another, without doubt, or fear, or shame. *You* have been reproached for trusting him too confidingly; and *he* has been reproached for seeking too intensely and exclusively your interests and honor. Let those without the State blame and upbraid. We rejoice that we have upheld him, as we have done; and now, when we can no longer feel his mighty arm supporting us, we would not give our *dead statesman* for all the *living* statesmen of this broad continent. We mourn our loss; but we value the treasures his life and intellect have left us, more than "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind." We mourn our loss; but, standing over his remains, we cannot but hate the tyranny that hurried him to his grave—and love the liberty for which he lived, and wasted, and died. Cherishing his memory, we dare not be slaves. Looking to his example and precepts, we must and will be free. If his home, whilst living, was sacred to purity and honor, his last resting place shall not be *polluted* by the foul footsteps of traitors to liberty. And, when over the long track of ages to come, the star of his genius shall still shine on, to lead the nations to freedom—it shall not be forgotten that South Carolina, the land of his nativity, reared him—sustained him—and honored him to the last.

# SMITH'S DISCOURSE.

The Rectitude of the Divine Administration: a Discourse suggested by the death of Hon. J. C. Calhoun, delivered in the Methodist Church of Columbia, South Carolina, on Sunday, April 7, 1850, by Rev. Whitefoord Smith, D. D.

"Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"—Genesis xviii, 25.

The interrogation of the text, my Christian brethren, implies two great truths. The first, that there is a God, whose superintending providence is over all his works. The second, that it is impossible for Him to do wrong. Nor let it be supposed that these are abstract truths, which have no application to the practical affairs of daily life; for, in the perpetual vicissitudes of human fortune, in the innumerable trials and afflictions incident to mortal life, what support can be found for the heirs of sorrow like that which is furnished by the consideration that a just and gracious God presides over the universe, directing and controlling all its events for purposes of infinite wisdom and goodness? And, especially, when the dispensations of His providence are inscrutable and mysterious; when all the powers of reason are inadequate to comprehend his designs; what other refuge is there for the mind and heart, but an humble and faithful reliance on the essential attributes of God? Thus, when the cities of the plain were doomed to destruction, and it pleased the Almighty to reveal to his servant Abraham their approaching overthrow, and when the patriarch became the intercessor, and would plead their cause, the strong argument with which he emboldened himself before his Maker was the language of the text, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" And when the judgment was executed, and Araham looked, "and lo! the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace," though he might mourn over their ruin, yet, doubtless his heart, was sustained by its faith in the rectitude of the Divine Administration. So, too, when the tidings of disaster upon disaster came to Job, until the intelligence of his afflictions seemed too much for nature to sustain, "he fell down upon the ground and worshipped," saying, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

How much more accordant with the dignity of man and the teachings of a pure philosophy, is such a submission to the behests of Heaven, than the frantic ravings of an Atheist, who would fain deny the existence of the hand beneath whose blow he falls!

In the history of nations, as well as in the experience of individuals, there are constantly occurring occasions for the exercise of these salutary reflections. For national calamities as well as for private griefs, there is the same heavenly solace—"the Lord hath prepared his throne in the Heavens, and his kingdom ruleth over all."

You will readily perceive the appropriateness of these thoughts to our present circumstances. But the last Sabbath, the pleasant chime of the church-going bells was suddenly changed into the slow and solemn toll—the death-knell of the departed. With electric rapidity were the tidings spread, that one of the most illustrious of our country's Senators was numbered with the dead. That he who, but a few days before, with the promise of returning strength, had lifted up his voice in the Capitol in defence of the dearest interests of his State, was now no more. The loss of this distinguished Statesman is recognised as a national affliction. His name had long been inscribed upon his country's brightest page, enrolled among her most honored sons. But to the State which gave him birth, and to which he ever acknowledged his first allegiance due, his loss is no ordinary bereavement. When a good and virtuous man dies, whose generous acts have endeared him to the community in which he lived, friends and neighbors gather around his bier, and many a tear of sympathy is shed. But there is a deeper sorrow felt by those who knew him as husband, father, brother. Theirs is a grief which strangers cannot know; and the habitation which his presence invested with joy is filled with "mourning and lamentation and woe." Such is the affliction of South Carolina at the death of the late Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Your attention might be occupied with the recital of his illustrious acts—with a history of his high career. The virtues which adorned his character; the profound philosophy which displayed itself in all he said; the utter forgetfulness of self in his devotion to the interests of his State and country might well form the theme of a long discourse. But these appropriately belong to another occasion. They will be written upon the pages of history—they will be engraven upon the hearts of posterity.

You will allow me to turn your attention now to those sacred lessons which most befit the day, and which this mournful event is well calculated to impress on every breast.

If the first lesson we should learn from this affliction be drawn directly

from the text, it will be an acknowledgment of the justice of God, and submission to his will. Revealed religion affords the only rational view of the divine nature. While it proclaims the supremacy of God, it exhibits all his attributes in perfect harmony. His benevolence is not lost amid the splendors of his aulic reign; nor his justice forgotten in the exercise of an infinite compassion. His eternal wisdom directs his almighty power; and though "his judgments are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out," they are still consistent with his essential goodness. Though "clouds and darkness are round about him, yet righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne." Unfortunately for us, it is but too characteristic of our fallen nature to murmur at the dispensations of an all-wise Providence, because we cannot comprehend its purposes; and foolishly to judge the acts of Heaven rather than piously to submit to its will. We forget that our frailty should teach us our dependence, and that our ignorance should prompt us to faith. When the dearest hopes we have cherished are blighted in an hour, and the props upon which we have leaned are suddenly removed, instead of turning our eyes upward and exhorting our hearts to trust in God, we look only to the desolations around us, and "sorrow even as others which have no hope." We challenge the wisdom of the dispensation which we cannot understand, and often impute injustice to the moral Governor of the world. Forgetful that our sins have deserved chastisement, we are resistful under the stroke of his hand. Forgetful of the mercy that gave, we think only of the judgment which has taken away. Our gratitude for the benefaction we have long enjoyed is lost in our grief for its removal; and our thoughts of God are frequently as ungrateful as they are unjust. Such, my brethren, is the gloom which surrounds us when we cast aside the word of inspired truth, and depend upon the uncertain teachings of darkened reason—when we forget

> ——— "The divinity that stirs within us;
> ——— "That points out an hereafter,
> "And intimates eternity to man;"

and look only to the brief and little interests that attach to our present state. The brightest illustrations of a fortitude that endures without complaint, of a heroism that triumphs over all obstruction, investing humanity with a dignity more than earthly, have been found in those whose faith had based itself upon the word of God, and whose gaze was fixed, not upon the fading glories of this world, but upon that exalted and enduring scene,

> "Where Seraphs gather immortality from life's fair tree."

The eye of sense can discover in many a dispensation of Providence naught but "shadows, clouds, and darkness;" but the eye of faith, piercing through the gloom, discerns far beyond the all-guiding hand, and relies for safety and for succor upon him who dwells in the ineffable brightness. What though the dispensation be shrouded in mysterious darkness? What though the infinite designs exceed our highest thought—"Shall mortal man be more just than God?" Shall we charge the Almighty with injustice, because he hath not made us his counsellors? There will come a day when God will vindicate his own administration—when the results of his present operations shall have developed themselves—when the mind, in its nobler state, shall be freed from the shackles of ignorance and prejudice and error which encircle it here—when truth will assert her high prerogative—when the light of eternity shall shine upon all his works;—and then shall every heart acknowledge his justice, his wisdom, and his goodness. When the sensual shall have sunk into its own corruption, and the spiritual shall have ascended to its own immortality, then shall the Just One receive universal homage, and the righteousness of God shall be the splendor of his throne.

If we consider the relation in which we stand to our great Creator, it will be the dictate of reason, as it is the doctrine of revelation, that we should yield implicit submission to his will. If there is any good use to which adversity may be made subservient, it is the part of wisdom to find it out. A repining fretfulness over misfortune never lightened the burden nor brought comfort to the complaining spirit; but an humble and pious acknowledgment of the will of God, and meek submission to his chastenings, have often brought tranquillity to the troubled heart, and lighted with the ray of celestial hope the otherwise impenetrable gloom.

It is permitted the Christian to regard every afflictive dispensation either as part of the discipline by which he is fitted for Heaven, or as a visitation of mercy sent him in disguise. The restraints which are exercised over human passion may be painful; nevertheless they are necessary and good. The heavens may be clothed with blackness, yet they teem with fertilizing rains. The thunder-storm may be terrific to the eye, yet it may purify the noxious air. In the whole economy of nature has God instituted such analogies, that we may learn to trust him in the darkest hours, and under the severest trials of our faith. Deprived of such a comfort as this in God inspires, many a grief were too intolerable to be borne—

> "A night, that glooms us in the noon-tide ray,
> And wraps our thought, at banquets, in the shroud."

Another important lesson which the late mournful event is well calculated to teach us, is the frailty and vanity of man. Death ought to be at all times impressive; but when he has selected "a shining mark," and his victim is taken from among the luminaries of a land—when the eye of genius is dimmed, and the voice of the eloquent orator is hushed in everlasting silence, and the wisdom of the prudent counsellor has perished—then with what force come the words of inspiration—"Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches."

However melancholy it may be to witness the instability of all human good, the impotency of man to resist the progress of decay and the power of death—to behold the bright intellectual light extinguished in the darkness of the grave, and the overthrow of high hopes and noble aspirations; it is well that we should pause and linger upon the painful subject, for though the countenance may be made sad, yet the heart may be made better. "The busy scene in which we live, naturally takes up our thoughts and attention, and it is with difficulty that they are called off to the contemplation of truths that are speculative, and which we consider as standing at a distance from us. The senses, imagination, and passsions are perpetually crowding the mind with objects of their own, and amidst the noise and tumult of these, the still voice of reason is not easily heard." But when a great calamity has overtaken us, when we stand in the presence of death, and learn that no human skill could avert the blow, no human love procure even a postponement of the doom, the united voice of reason and inspiration loudly cry, "this is the end of all—let the living lay it to his heart." How powerful a corrective is this to the natural pride of man. If in the hour of prosperity he forgets that he is mortal, and imagines that his mountain stands strong, let him consider the day of adversity which shall surely come; for "God hath set the one over against the other." Let him not look alone at the grandeur of his present state, and be unmindful of the destiny which awaits him; but rather let him set his house in order, for he shall die and not live. "For he seeth that wise men die, likewise the fool and the brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others."

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave
> Await alike th' inevitable hour,
> The paths of glory lead—but to the grave."

With how strong an appeal do such reflections come to us to-day.

But the other day, and he whom we now mourn occupied his place among the great men of our nation and of the world. His was no common mind—his no ordinary fame. His country honored him, and the world admired; but alas! what availed the quick perception, the keen sagacity, the profound analysis, and all the varied stores of a capacious mind? The mighty champion in many a field of intellectual strife stood powerless here. The great destroyer respected not the badges of his high distinction, but seized him as another trophy of all-conquering Death.

The duty of the preacher would be but partially performed, if he withheld another lesson which this occasion eminently suggests. One of the most appropriate duties which this bereavement is calculated to impress upon the minds of the people of this State, is, *to place their trust less on man and more on God.* Such was the honor and veneration in which our departed Senator was held—so proud were we of his genius, and his exalted worth—that we were in danger of forgetting our dependence upon God, in our reliance on the wisdom and patriotism of man. "Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils," is the command of God, and "put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help." And yet, though constantly admonished of the frailty of such support, how prone are we to rely upon the creature to the neglect of the Creator. When one of our fellows whom God has highly endowed, and raised up in his providence for some great occasion, appears among us, and is the instrument of our deliverance—when his counsels are wise and safe, and his firmness and courage eminently qualify him for our defence, and under his leadership we have been successful, how natural it is to us to repose on him in seasons of peril, and to conclude that all is well under his vigilant supervision. If such views be only restrained within their proper limit, and an humble trust in God be cultivated—if we think not of men more highly than we ought to think, but regard them as the instruments of a superintending power; if we transfer not our faith from its proper object, God—then is it but an act of justice and gratitude to honor those whose services have benefited or saved the commonwealth. But whenever we go beyond the proper bound, and place that confidence in man which should be put in God alone, we lay the foundation for future disappointment; for it is written—"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord."

In the present embarrassed and threatening position of our public affairs, there is danger, my brethren, lest we have been looking too much to an arm of flesh to save us, and too little to our God. While the

storm has been raging, we have perhaps been sleeping quietly, because we had confidence in the skill of those to whom the national interests were intrusted. The removal from among us of such a man, at such a time, should awaken us all to the necessity of calling upon God, and making him our trust. Our true security lies in his protection and blessing; and our inward peace, amid the tumult which may rage around, will be proportioned to our faith in him. It may be well for us to consider how far such may be the purpose of God in our present affliction. If the triumphant genius of man could devise the way of our deliverance from the evils which now impend, our natural proneness to rely on man might only be increased. But if we feel that those in whom we trusted are taken away, shall it not lead us to supplicate more earnestly the aid of God, and to give the glory of deliverence to him who alone can effect it?

Nor let us be forgetful of the experience of the past. How many emergencies have arisen in the history of our country, and in the history of all nations, when the timid and trembling heart has looked around for an earthly deliverer, and mourned that those on whom it was accustomed to rely had been taken away? And yet, with every such exigency has God interposed, and either in his providence turned aside the ill, or raised up such men as were suited to the times. Such remembrances should encourage us to-day. When the devoted band of Apostles had been removed from the early church, God raised up "the noble army of the martyrs." When a sepulchral gloom again enshrouded her, he gave the great Redeemer. Turn, then, your eyes to him who kindled that light whose extinction you now deplore, and learn to trust his goodness, as well as to fear his power.

It is a merciful ordination of Heaven, that even our heaviest afflictions may be sanctified, and the very events which we bewail as adversities may be converted into blessings. Though this be now beyond our comprehension, yet our faith joyfully receives it. "We have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us, what work God did in their days, in the times of old." Let our reliance be on him. The God of our fathers is our God, and he will still be our guide. Oh! if in this time of our national distress and darkness, it shall please him to cause the light of his countenance to be lifted up upon us, the lowering clouds shall become luminous with his presence,

> "And sorrow, touched by Him, grow bright,
> With more than rapture's ray,
> As darkness shows us worlds of light
> We never saw by day."

May we not already discern the first gleam of this blessed light in the subduing and softening influence which the death of our distinguished Statesman has produced among his own compeers? Who can turn his eye to that touching spectacle, presented in the Senate of our country, when the announcement of his death was made, and not be moved? Upon the field of political conflict the living Senator had found his foes. They, too, were men of giant minds. They had entered that arena together in early life. They had often met in warm debate, espousing opposite opinions, and defending them with all their strength. They strove together often for the mastery. But when a mightier than they had come, and Death proclaimed himself the victor there, the survivors felt the transitoriness of human glory, they dropped the tear of fraternal sorrow, and their genius wove for the pale brow of their departed rival the brightest garlands which he ever wore. And who shall say that even there, where the war of words and passions has been waged most hotly, the animosities of party shall not be forgotten in the deep-felt grief of every heart, and the pure patriotism of the mighty dead infuse its spirit into the souls of the living?

And now, my brethren, it only remains that I conclude these remarks as I began them, by exhorting you to an unwavering confidence in the rectitude of the divine administration. Many will be the trials of our faith, but they will all be ordered in mercy. It is this heaven-appointed principle alone that shall bear us up under the manifold sorrows of life. But as it has always conquered, so shall it prove triumphant to the last. Through many a scene of perplexity and sorrow our path may lie; but this shall not lead us out into the land of light beyond. When the fierce temptation shall assail you to distrust the providence of God because his hand is heavy, let your soul support itself by those higher views to which the text invites you. Should your possessions be spoiled, or your children die—should your friends forsake you, or your enemies for a while exult—on every such occasion let the Patriarch's language be yours—"Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" The uprightness of your heart and the integrity of your life shall then support your minds; and the indefinite and external merits of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be your justification and your glory. Upon whom, in the unity of the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us unite in ascribing all honor and power, might, majesty, and blessing, forever—AMEN.

# PORTER'S ORATION.

Oration delivered before the Calhoun Monument Association of the Military and Fire Departments of Charleston, upon their First Celebration, in honor of the birth-day of CALHOUN, at the Charleston Theatre, March 18, 1854, by W. D. PORTER. Published, together with an ode written for the occasion by W. J. Rivers, by request of the Association.

To-day is the anniversary of the birth of CALHOUN—a day memorable in our annals, for it is associated with the advent of the largest and most commanding intellect, and of the longest and most faithful and illustrious public services, which it has pleased heaven to vouchsafe to this favored commonwealth. The occasion is fraught with recollections upon which we may dwell with profit, and which we should cherish with feelings of pleasure and pride. As we retrace the line of that great public career, standing out, as it does, for near half a century, in bold relief, upon the history of the times—sullied by never an act of dishonor, subserviency or unworthy compliance—and illustrated by so many noble displays of genius and eloquence, of constancy and self-devoting virtue in behalf of great principles of constitutional liberty, we cannot but feel, and reverently acknowledge, how much we have been honored by the lustre of a name, which, in life, was our ornament and pride, and which, under the hallowing sanctions of death, has taken its place in the moral firmament, a star among the constellations, that with a benignant glory look down upon us from above. Happy the people who can claim as their own, not the ashes only, but the immortal part,—the name, the renown, and the example of a truly great man; happier still, if they have the virtue to prove themselves worthy of such a treasure.

Just four years ago, fellow-citizens, you witnessed a spectacle such as you had never seen before, and will never see again. On the day of which I speak, all that was mortal of our dead statesman was brought back, with the honors of the country, from the late field of his glory, to the soil he had served so long and loved so well. The sad and touching ceremonies which followed, your memories will recall, without the aid of description from me:—that scene at the Citadel Square, when the living thousands there assembled, bowed by a spontaneous impulse, with uncovered heads, before the funeral car, that bore within its sable

folds their pride and their hope, laid low in death;—the long "procession of the bereaved" which wound its way, in solemn march, through the silent and almost deserted streets;—that other scene at the City Hall, then for the first time fitted up as the chamber of the dead, where from morning till night the old and the young, the high and the humble, men, women and children, passed in unbroken line, through the dim-lighted catafalque, to look their last upon their best;—and those closing ceremonies of the morrow, when young men in the vigor of manhood, bore him in their strong arms to the temple of the Most High, where, after anthem and prayer and solemn service, words were spoken, of fitting dignity and eloquent of grief, less in praise of the dead, than in comfort and admonition to the living! And how they laid him in the earth; and marked the spot with a memorial stone, bearing the simple superscription of his name;—and then, strewed with garlands the grave of the mighty departed, turned slowly and sadly away from all they had seen and heard, to dwell in heaviness of heart upon what they could never more see or hear again! All these things, I know, are still fresh in your hearts; and what stranger that beheld them, but must have felt that one had fallen who was altogether worthy of a people's love, and that he had fallen among those who knew how to render the homage due to his worth!

And so, indeed, he was worthy; and it will be an omen of evil to those in whose service he had lived and died, when they shall begin to forget his memory, and when the sad reproach shall be theirs, that they honor him with their lips, but their hearts are far away.

The memories of a people—the recollections connected with their great names and great events—are part of their best treasure: for out of these grow, in a good degree, their hopes, aspirations and achievements. Virtue, public and private, is nourished by the contemplation of departed worth; and one of the strongest incentives to a high strain of sentiment and action, is found in the traditions and records of brilliant eras. It is a noble instinct of our nature, which prompts in us a desire to be not unworthy the fame of our fathers. To feed this instinct—to train the young eagles to the flight of the old ones—to cultivate and diffuse the love of virtue by popular exhibitions of admiration and gratitude for its most signal manifestations,—this is the wise policy of every people who have a past upon which they can look back with pride, or a future to which they look forward with hope. The Romans were accustomed to carry in procession the statues of their dead ancestors; and all nations that have any claims to civilization have sought to perpetuate in enduring forms, sensible to the eye, the lineaments and virtues of

those who have connected their names with the glory of the country. We are beings of a nature mysteriously compounded, and are educated by the senses, as well as by the faculty of reflection. A sign or an image will oftentimes awaken emotions that the colder appeals of reason could never touch. As we linger around the memorials which commemorate great men or great actions, we kindle in imagination, and drawing to ourselves some portion of the inspiration of the place, learn to emulate what we behold and admire. Bright deeds are fitly embalmed in the song of the poet and the pictured page of the historian; but not in vain do the painter and sculptor ply their strokes of art, almost divine, to make the canvass glow and the marble start to life. Bust and portrait, statue and column are something more than mute memorials of affection: for, while they perpetuate the remembrance of the dead, they speak to the hearts of the living in a language which, in all ages and countries, has found an interpretation and a response. There is true philosophy, as well as a fitness and a beauty in these things.

We have had two races of great statesmen. Of the first race were the statesmen of the Revolution. They had a glorious work to perform, and manfully and thoroughly did they accomplish it. It is true that great occasions generally call forth great men, but it is equally true that these, in their turn, mould and fashion, if they do not create, such occasions. A remarkable exemplification of this may be found in our Revolution, which was essentially a work of principle. It is one of the chief distinctions of the statesmen of that day, that without waiting for actual oppression, they saw and resisted the very beginnings of misgovernment. It was not the amount of the tax, but the principle on which it was demanded, that kindled into a flame of indignant patriotism their jealous love of liberty. They knew, as by intuition, that there could be no freedom for a people who were subject to be bound, "in all cases whatsoever," by the action of a legislative body in which they had no representation; and upon this theme they spoke and wrote, remonstrated and reasoned, with a gravity of style and a strength of argument that had never been surpassed. To the clearness of perception, the vigor of understanding, and the reach and comprehensiveness of thought which are so admirably displayed in their State papers, they joined a courage and constancy of soul which neither toil nor danger could daunt or discourage. And so, when the war of words was over, they did not shrink from that of arms; and, having once appealed to the sword in defence of their rights and their homes, they rose easily and grandly to the majestic conception of redeeming the colonies from a condition of political dependency, and of clothing them with the name, the powers

and the attributes of free and sovereign States. Over the perilous path of revolution, through the valley of the shadow of death, they led the way to independence; and, after seven years of war, against fearful odds, and amid privations, reverses and disasters that would have shaken the purpose of less constant men, they made good their declaration, in the face and by the acknowledgment of nations, and rescued the fairest portion of the New World, for ever, from the tyrannous grasp of the Old.

Nor did their services end with the achievement of independence. Having broken asunder an old monarchy, they next applied themselves to the work of building up a free republic. When we consider the novelty of the enterprise, and the difficulties necessarily incident to it, we cannot but regard this undertaking as still more extraordinary than the other. Who can tell how much of virtue, of wisdom and of political science far in advance of the day, was required to restrain a liberty, just born of revolution, from rushing madly into licentiousness; to teach a people, in the very flush and fever of a triumph won by the sword, the noble lesson of self-control, and to turn, by the power of reason and persuasion, into one broad, deep channel of safety, the conflicting tides of passion and opinion, which threatened to overwhelm all in anarchy; to devise for the separate States laws and institutions, and new and untried forms of popular representative government, recognizing the people as the source of power, and securing, by proper guards and restrictions, the responsibility of the rulers to the ruled; and afterwards, with a view to the common defence, and the formation of a more perfect union, to bind together by a Constitution, or Fundamental Law, the several independent commonwealths into one great confederated republic, embodying and realizing to the eyes of foreign nations the idea of American constitutional liberty, challenging their respect by its justice and its power, and awakening everywhere, in the hearts of those who dare to think of freedom, hopes and aspirations which, however long subdued, will be cherished long—yea, even until the day of their consummation shall come.

Truly they were great men, who could so deal with a momentous crisis in the history of a people; who could call States into being; invest them with the insignia of sovereignty; organize them for happy and beneficent action, and administer their early functions, at home and abroad, with distinguished ability and success. On the rolls of fame there are no better or brighter names than those of the founders of the republic—of Washington, "first in war, first in peace;" of Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Franklin; of James Otis, Patrick Henry, Hamilton and Laurens; of Gadsden, Hancock, the Rutledges, the

Pinckneys, and a host of others, their comrades and compatriots! They have passed away, but their work survives; and though that work should perish, still will their names and their principles live in the recollections of men, till history and tradition shall be no more.

To them succeeded another generation of great statesmen. They too were "racy of the soil," and of a masculine vigor of character and intellect. Born amidst the closing scenes of the revolution, and sprung, for the most part, from those who had been actors in that great drama, they were familiar with the men and traditions of the times; and standing, as it were, near the fountain heads of patriotism, they drank largely of its living and health-inspiring waters. The great questions then in agitation, touching public and private rights, and theories and forms of government, generated a bold spirit of speculation and a courageous zeal for truth and freedom, which became thoroughly interwoven with the texture of their characters. As they grew to manhood, and advanced upon the stage of political action, the workings of the new government in all its departments, legislative, judicial, and executive; the lines of partition between the State powers and the Federal powers, the former original and self-existent, the latter derivative and delegated; the extension of the boundaries of the republic, by the acquisition of new territory or the admission of new States; its systems of currency, public credit, and internal improvement; and its foreign relations, particularly under the pressure of war, gave rise to a multiplicity of questions and measures, which were not only of new impression, but of sufficient magnitude to call into requisition the resources of the largest and most comprehensive minds. Nor did they prove unequal to the exigencies of their position. In their debates and discussions, happily preserved for the delight and instruction of after times, they poured floods of light, such as only genius and eloquence can pour, upon the theory and practice of our institutions; and their statesmanlike conduct is amply attested by the steady and well-assured growth of the country in power and consideration abroad, and in all the elements of material and moral greatness at home.

Amongst these post-revolutionary statesmen, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster were easily pre-eminent—"*facile principes.*" Their superiority was acknowledged by common consent. They soared to heights and penetrated to depths which none others could reach; by the true mastery of intellect, they swayed the wills of masses of men; and by their joint counsel and action, they modified and controlled the progress of the country in its wonderful developments. In the distinguishing properties of their minds they differed, just as we see excelling stars

differ in glory. In one, an amazing power of thought and reason were chiefly predominant; in another, a brilliant imagination and electrical eloquence; and in the third, a beautiful and extraordinary combination of the imaginative and reasoning faculties. At times they stood side by side in the cause of the country, marshalling her, with glorious rivalry, in the ways of peace or of war; and at other times, front to front, in the van of opposing ranks, they contended for victory with an ardor of battle that shook the realm to its centre. Who was in the right and who in the wrong in these conflicts of opinion, will always remain a fair subject for discussion and difference of opinion; but when the heated passions of the day shall have died out, and reason and justice shall have established their sway over the minds of men, the clear and calm voice of historical truth, speaking not for the day only, but for all time, will declare that, however varied their opinions and their measures, they were one and all Americans and patriots at heart, true men and true statesmen, animated by an honesty of purpose, a zeal for what they believed to be the right, an intrepidity of soul and a commanding power of intellect, that have shed unfading lustre on the country. Such will be the verdict of that great tribunal of posterity, to which their motives and their actions are all now committed.

It is not expected, on this occasion, that a minute and detailed narrative should be made of the life and services of Mr. CALHOUN; but it *is* expected, and properly too, that something should be said of his moral and mental qualities, as rare in their assemblage as in their separate excellencies; of his character, so singularly pure; of the great parts he acted in public affairs; and of his claims to be considered a statesman, an orator, and a political philosopher of the first rate, a benefactor of his country, and the particular pride and glory of his State. And although I cannot hope for the exercise of an ability at all adequate to the occasion, still do I invoke, and would fain bring to the task, some portion of that spirit of truth, of historical justice and loving charity, with which the men of after times will regard those whose names they will not willingly let die.

There is something beautiful and touching in the life-long relation which subsisted between Mr. CALHOUN and the people of South Carolina. So much of fidelity on his part, and of unfailing confidence on theirs, for so long a period of time, and during so many trying vicissitudes, presents a moral picture which no person of generous disposition can contemplate without emotion. Those who think lightly of it, do not consider the high qualities in which this remarkable instance of mutual devotion had its origin. It was not the offspring of art and manage-

ment on the one side, nor of a blind and unreasoning attachment on the other. No man ever stooped less than Mr. CALHOUN, to the degrading compliances of the demagogue or the courtier; his real nobility of soul recoiled from them with scorn and loathing. What his heart coined, his mouth spoke, and that with a freedom and fearlessness of utterance that was the best witness of his sincerity. It was not in self-seeking or time-serving, but in the voice of his conscience, smaller but more potent than the voice of the multitude, that he sought and found the law of his conduct. Dear to him as was the confidence of his State—*dear* (to use his own words, on a memorable occasion) *as light and life*—he never hesitated to run the risk of losing it, rather than disobey the sober and deliberate dictates of his judgment. He had the heroic courage of mind—so essential to true greatness—that could turn aside from power, and place, and the dazzling rewards of a high and successful ambition, to tread alone the narrow and rugged path of duty, undismayed by clamor or calumny, and sustained only by the consciousness of right, and an intrepid faith in the ultimate triumph of truth. It is in the union of the highest moral with the highest intellectual nature, in that greatness of character which is the last finish and crowning excellence of greatness of mind, and which no single word perhaps so well expresses, as *magnanimity*, taken in its best sense, that we find the secret and the source of his marvellous ascendency. Many, who would now bow to the majesty of his intellect alone, rendered a willing homage to the still more commanding majesty of his virtue.

To the State of his birth, this great and good man, in obedience to the double instincts of filial piety and patriotism, gave the first and choicest affections of his heart. He brought to her service all the resources of his brilliant mind, all the energies of his ardent and aspiring soul. With a jealous love he watched over her interests, and her honor was dear to him as the apple of his eye. The radiance of his early triumphs shed upon her a reflected glory, only to be surpassed by the noontide and setting splendors of his later career. As her youthful representative in the federal councils, he rose at once to the first distinctions; and in that brilliant assemblage of orators and statesmen, known as the Twelfth Congress, he was likened to "one of the old sages of the old Congress, with all the graces of youth," and was hailed as "one of the master spirits, who stamp their names upon the age in which they live." In the discharge of the duties of a high executive department, to which he was called, he signalized his administrative ability, giving proofs that his faculties of action were equal to his faculties of thought. The popular heart acknowledged the spell of his

genius; and under the victorious auspices of the great republican party which then ruled the destinies of the country, he was elevated to the second office in the gift of the people. But one step more, and the summit of his ambition was reached! That step he forbore; that ambition he checked and curbed in mid career! The voice of his State called upon him, and he heard it only to obey. For the sake of her cause, which he believed to be the cause of "truth, justice, and the constitution," he relinquished without a murmur, and seemingly without a regret, all the bright ambitious hopes of his life, and took upon himself the arduous and self-denying character of her champion and her martyr. For more than twenty years, with a constancy of purpose that knew not the shadow of turning, and a power of reason and eloquence that will be admired so long as letters and knowledge shall survive among us, he contended, literally to the last beat of his heart, for the maintenance of her honor, and the vindication of her equal rights as a member of the Federal Union. And in the solemn closing hours of life, that so searchingly try the truth of the soul, he uttered a regret that he could not have "one hour more in the Senate," to plead the self-same cause! What wonder that in his noble genius, his erect and dauntless bearing, his integrity so stainless and pure, and his loyalty, which neither the smiles of power could seduce nor its frowns intimidate, South Carolina should recognize the qualities most worthy of her admiration! What wonder that she should extend to him in life the full measure of her affectionate confidence, and now that he is dead, should seek to perpetuate, by some enduring memorial, if not the glory of his services, at least the truth and sincerity of her gratitude!

We are naturally curious to know something of the early training of great men, and of the methods of discipline under which they attained their mighty intellectual stature. All that is known of Mr. Calhoun in this regard exhibits the self-reliance and native vigor of mind which characterized him in after life, and affords a striking example of the power of well-directed effort to compensate for the want of early advantages. During his first eighteen years, the academical instruction he received did not extend beyond the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as taught in a country school. But we must not infer that this period of his life was passed without improvement. A mind like his could not subsist in idleness. Once in possession of the "golden keys," he unlocked for himself the storehouses of knowledge, and gathered what he would from its heaps of rich and abundant treasure. By self-cultivation, which deals with the world within as well as the world without, with our own thoughts as well as the thoughts of other

men, he developed and strengthened the natural powers of his understanding. He certainly had, at that time, the power and habit of study, for we learn that, from a small circulating library within his reach, he selected various works on history and philosophy, which he read with such intensity of application as seriously to impair his health. In the choice of books, we may discover the natural bent of his genius; and his method of reading, described as so earnest and absorbing, was doubtless of that character which appropriates facts and principles, incorporating them, as it were, by the power of thought, into the mind, and rendering them available for use, whenever occasion requires. Whether he had, at this time, any revelation to himself of the capacious faculties that were slumbering within him, or any glimpse or dream even of the great part he was capable of acting in the affairs of life, cannot now be told; but certain it is, as will appear hereafter, that he had fixed in his mind a high standard of the sort and degree of preparation that was necessary to eminence in professional or political life, and that if it became his lot to embark in either, he would not be content to fall short of that standard.

In his 19th year, an elder brother, moved either by fraternal love or an appreciation of his genius, proposed that he should receive an education at College. To his acceptance of this proposal Mr. CALHOUN annexed two conditions, one of which shows the truthfulness of his affections, the other the maturity of his judgment, and both of them a fixedness of principle that was characteristic of him. The first was that the consent of his widowed mother should be freely given, without which he would not think of leaving her. Neither ambition nor the prospect of so great a boon as a liberal education could induce him to disregard the promptings of filial piety. Another great man, Mr. Webster has told us that when his father first disclosed his intention of sending him to College, he laid his head on that father's shoulder and wept. How kindred in their emotions are noble natures, and how beautifully do these fine touches of humanity, gleaming out of them, like lights among the shadows of a landscape, soften and relieve the sterner character they acquire amid the cares and trials, the strifes and struggles of the world! Had that mother and that father been spared to witness the full results of their self-denying parental love, how would their hearts have swelled with a delight which words are too poor to express! Even now, they have their reward!

The other stipulation was, that such provision should be made as would maintain him at his studies for a period of seven years before entering upon his profession. Unless this could be done, he preferred

to remain a planter. In those employments which call for the highest displays of mind and knowledge, he knew that the superstructure could not be high and stable unless the foundation were laid broad and strong. Having set up in his breast a high ideal of excellence, he was fixed in his determination, either to compass it in full, or to forego the attempt. It is this spirit, the spirit of the motto "Aut Cæsar, aut nullus," that is the actuating principle of all great efforts and great achievements.

Happily both of these conditions were complied with. They have been dwelt upon not only because they illustrate the character of the man, but because they are of importance in the way of encouragement and example to others. When Mr. CALHOUN entered upon the business of education, he entered upon it in earnest, and with his whole soul. It was his habit then, as afterwards, to do thoroughly whatever he undertook. He was not content with the forms and outward shows of things, but penetrated to the interior and the substance, plucking out from the mystery its heart. The proper fruits of a solid education exhibited themselves in the ease and power with which, at his entrance upon life, he dealt with great affairs.

The public life of Mr. CALHOUN, from the time he entered on the stage of political action, is part of the public life of the country. So great was the part he played, and so thoroughly did he stamp the impress of his mind and his will upon all the leading questions of Federal policy, that no proper history of the times can be written which does not embrace a history of his opinions, actions and influences. In a more general point of view, his public life may be divided in two parts or eras. In the first of these he appears in the character of a great political leader, inspiring with the ardor of his mind the counsels of the country; animating it to a bold vindication of its honor against foreign aggression; rallying its spirits, marshalling its resources, and organizing its victories in a war with the most powerful nation of the earth; shaping its domestic policy upon the most liberal principles, in the delicate and difficult stages of a transition from a state of war to a state of peace, and administering, with a capacity altogether unsurpassed, the high executive functions with which he was clothed. In the other, he stands forth in the rarer and grander character of a great political reformer, seeing and sternly resisting the abuses of the times; battling, if without hope, with a heart of courage, on the side of liberty against the side of power; sacrificing all personal considerations in a noble effort to restore the government to its original purity, and to recall the country to the paths of republicanism from which it had strayed; throwing himself into the breach of a violated Constitu-

tion, and struggling there with the strength of a giant, and self-devotion like that of the Spartan at the Pass, to save the rights of the States and the liberties of the people from the overwhelming tide of fanaticism and consolidation which threatened to sweep them away. Here are interesting and ample materials for political biography; but a few glances at his career in each of these aspects, is all that is compatible with the purposes and limits of this occasion.

The war of 1812 has been called our second war for independence. It was a war for commercial, as the first was for political independence. It was waged in vindication of neutral rights, and for the freedom of the ocean as the great and common highway of nations. For a series of years previous to its declaration, Great Britain and France, the two great antagonists in the mighty European struggle then in progress, particularly the former, had impressed our seamen and committed depredations on our commerce, in utter disregard of our rights as an independent, non-belligerent power. In fact, they undertook, through their orders and decrees, to regulate our whole trade with foreign nations. The sensibility of the country was deeply excited by these wrongs and indignities, but it was the policy of the government to preserve peaceful relations so long as it could be done consistently with the national honor. In pursuance of this policy, resort was had to a system of restrictive measures, consisting of non-importation, embargo and non-intercourse acts, in the hope of compelling justice and enforcing redress for the injuries to which we had been subjected.

No sooner did Mr. CALHOUN enter Congress, than he advocated a bolder and more decisive line of conduct. At this early period of his life, while still a young man, he gave proofs of that high quality of statesmanship which consists in taking large and commanding views of public affairs in great emergencies,—going before rather than lagging behind public sentiment—not so much following it, as moulding, directing and lifting it up. He was of opinion that we were about to enter upon the second struggle for our liberties with our ancient enemy, and that war speedily declared and wisely and vigorously conducted, was the only means of establishing the honor and safety of the country. He resolutely assailed the system of restrictions, as inefficient in itself, and inconsistent with the genius of the people, and declared that he would prefer one victory over the enemy—by sea or land—to all the good that could ever be derived from restrictions. As chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, he reported the bill declaring war; and after the declaration, he strenuously opposed the views of those who were in favor of uniting restrictions with war. "We have had,"

said he, a "peace like a war; in the name of Heaven, let us not have the only thing that is worse, a war like a peace." He rebuked the spirit of factious opposition; denounced the low and calculating avarice that would shorten the arm and cripple the power of the government in time of war; and in a style of nervous and manly eloquence, admirably suited to the occasion, appealed for a vigorous prosecution of hostilities to every feeling of pride and patriotism that had a place in the hearts of his countrymen. There is so much of spirit and vigor in the contrast he drew between an active and a passive system of resistance, and in the animating appeals he addressed to the country through the debates in Congress, that did opportunity allow, I should take pleasure in reading for your enjoyment some passages from those noble speeches, which even now ring out with a sound like that of a trumpet, and which, with Mr. Clay's, were read at the head of our armies for the purpose of inspiriting the troops.

Time has fully confirmed the justice and policy of the war, and too much praise cannot be rendered to those of our Statesmen who comprehended the crisis in its full proportions, and met it with a commensurate boldness and energy. It is impossible to regard the conduct of Great Britain at that time in any other light than as a practical assertion of her supremacy upon the ocean, and of her determination, whenever her interests required it, to subject the commerce of the world to her supervision and control. Her belligerent maritime policy, resting upon her superior naval power, and undertaking to regulate, according to her own views, the principle and practice of search and impressment, blockades and contraband of war, amounted virtually to a substitution of her imperious will upon the ocean for the recognized law of nations;—so that not only the lives and property of our own citizens but the neutral rights of States, were involved in the alternative of our resistance or submission. In this point of view it was devolved upon the young Republic, single-handed and alone, to defend not only her own honor but the maritime rights of the civilized world, against the colossal power of Great Britain, particularly after the latter had been released by the peace of Paris from all complication with European hostilities, and had been left free to turn against her the whole might of fleets and armies, fresh from the fields of their triumph. Her situation was full of peril and responsibility, but she was not intimidated; and under the guidance of firm and patriotic counsels, she fought her way, on land and on sea, to the issue of an honorable peace.

The Treaty of Ghent, it is true, did not profess to settle anything in relation to the original causes of war. The British orders in council

had been revoked shortly after the declaration, and the matters of impressment and blockade were left, by mutual consent, *in statu quo.* The treaty looked only to the restoration of peace and of commercial intercourse upon a footing of reciprocity. Still the waging of the war was a practical vindication of the strength of the government and of the patriotism of the people. To have succumbed would have been an acknowledgment of weakness and an invitation to greater aggressions. Nations, like individuals, hold their integrity and their safety by the tenure of a willingness and a power to resist oppression. The effects of the course pursued by the United States were felt immediately. The character of the country rose in general estimation, and our flag, before almost unknown, acquired a name and a recognition abroad. A higher tone of feeling and thinking, a tone of self-reliance and self-respect, sprung up in the bosoms of the people. The memory of Lundy's Lane and New Orleans became associated with that of Saratoga and Eutaw; and by a sort of retributive justice, in a war waged for the vindication of maritime rights, the thunders of our young but gallant navy woke echoes that startled the "sea-girt Isle" in its dream of invincibility, and announced in many a brilliant victory that the mastery of the seas, if surrendered elsewhere, was still challenged by the young Republic of the West. The present security of our commerce on the ocean, and the immunity of American citizenship in distant lands, are among the legitimate fruits of the war of 1812.

The career of Mr. CALHOUN as a member of Congress, and as Secretary of War, placed him in the front rank of those upon whom the affections and hopes of the country were fixed. Although still young, he had displayed, in the highest degree those qualities of mind and character which most captivate the hearts of a free and intelligent people, and which to the end of the chapter will sway the destinies of a polity like ours—such as ardor, boldness, independence, a high and stirring eloquence that appeals to the morale of our nature, a fearlessness of responsibility, a clear and quick sagacity to see what the highest interests of the country demand in moments of exigency, and an unflinching intrepidity in devising and carrying out the measures proper to secure them. Perhaps I cannot convey a more accurate idea of the estimation in which he was then held, than by laying before you the opinion entertained of him by one who was himself an orator and a ripe scholar, a profound lawyer and a most virtuous and accomplished gentleman. I allude to the late Wm. Wirt. In a letter from Mr. Wirt, then Attorney General of the United States, to his friend William Pope of Virginia, under date 12th Nov. 1824, he thus speaks of Mr. CALHOUN:

"I am sorry that you did not see CALHOUN. He is a most captivating man. If the Virginians knew him as well as I do, he would be as popular in Virginia as he is in South Carolina. His is the very character to strike a Virginian—ardent, generous, high-minded, brave, with a genius full of fire, energy and light; a devoted patriot, proud of his country, and prizing her glory above his life. I would turn him loose to make his way in Virginia against any other man in the United States, the ex-Presidents excepted. He wants only what age will give him to assure to him, I think, the universal confidence of the nation. He is at present a little too sanguine, a little too rapid and tenacious; but he is full of the kindest feelings and the most correct principles, and another Presidential term will, I think, mellow him for any service of his country."*

Within a year from the writing of this letter, Mr. CALHOUN was elected to the Vice-Presidency by an overwhelming vote. The duties of this office are not of that engrossing character which could occupy the whole attention of a mind like his. It is understood to have been about this time that Mr. CALHOUN, whose attention had been excited by the alarming growth of the Tariff system, instituted that searching and profound investigation into the powers and the policy of the Federal Government, which wrought a change in his earlier opinions and gave character and direction to the whole current of his subsequent political life. Although there has been much exaggeration as to the extent of his agency in particular measures, there can be no doubt that while in Congress, during and immediately after the war, he participated generally in those views of domestic policy, sometimes called *national*, which were then almost universal. Indeed, in his remarks on the resolution in relation to the Madison papers, made in the Senate, in 1837, Mr. CALHOUN admitted that "when a young man, and at his entrance on political life, he had inclined to that interpretation of the Constitution which favored a latitude of powers; but experience, observation and reflection had wrought a change in his views, and above all, the transcendent argument of Mr. Madison himself, in his celebrated resolutions of 1798, had done more than all other things to convince him of his error." It would not be just to his great memory, nor is it necessary to his fame or character, that there should be anything of concealment or disguise on this point. Magnanimity does not consist in never committing an error, but in rectifying it and making atonement for it, as soon as discovered. It is only the fool who never

*Kennedy's Memoirs of Wirt, 2 vol., p. 185.

changes an opinion; and he is no better than a coward and a knave, who stifles in his breast the convictions of reason and duty, and who, seeing the right, will still the wrong pursue.

And here it may be proper to take a passing notice of the imputation that the change in Mr. CALHOUN's political conduct was dictated by feelings of disappointed ambition, or of personal hostility to General Jackson. Those who make the charge, have either overlooked or confounded the order and succession of political events. A slight reference to facts and dates will suffice to place this matter in its proper light. The letter of Gen. Jackson to Mr. CALHOUN, which led to the rupture in their friendly relations, bears date 13th May, 1830. In that letter he expresses "great surprise" at a communication which has been made to him, and proceeds to say, "that frankness which I trust has always characterized me through life towards those with whom I have been in the habits of friendship, induces me to lay before you the enclosed copy of a letter from Wm. H. Crawford, Esq., which was placed in my hands on yesterday." It is unnecessary for the present purpose to enter into the subject-matter or the merits of the controversy; the material fact is, that until May, 1830, the relations between the President and Vice-President were those of political association and personal good will.

The agitation in South Carolina, upon the subject of a protective tariff, had its commencement more than ten years prior to that date, the House of Representatives having, as early as 1820, affirmed the principle of Free Trade, but declined embarrassing the action of Congress in what seemed to be intended for the regulation of commerce. In 1828, Mr. CALHOUN wrote the celebrated paper known as the "Exposition," which entered into a profound analytical examination of the principle and operation of the tariff system, and of the relations of the State and Federal Governments to each other. In this paper the protective tariff was characterized as unconstitutional, unjust, and oppressive, and as tending to corrupt the government and destroy the liberty of the country; and the remedy suggested in the event of a failure of all other redress, was that the State should interpose her veto or sovereign authority, to protect the property and liberties of her citizens from the consequences of a deliberate and dangerous infraction of the Constitution. At the same time, forbearance was recommended, under the hope that the great political revolution which on the succeeding 4th of March would bring into power "an eminent citizen (General Jackson), distinguished for his services to his country, and his justice and patriotism, would be followed up, under his influence, with a com-

plete restoration of the pure principles of our government." The same Legislature which adopted this Exposition, cast the vote of the State for Gen. Jackson as President, and Mr. CALHOUN as Vice President. Is it not clear that the "Exposition," which preceded the "correspondence" by more than a year, distinctly put forward the grounds upon which Mr. CALHOUN afterwards planted himself, and foreshadowed the subsequent action of the State under the guidance of his counsels? And is it not just as clear that nothing but a transposition or utter subversion of authentic historical facts, can lend the slightest shadow of foundation to the idea that the personal feud with Gen. Jackson was the exciting cause of the great political struggle in which Mr. CALHOUN embarked?

Equally absurd and without foundation, is the charge of disappointed ambition. In the fall of 1828, before the writing of the Exposition, Mr. CALHOUN was Vice President. In the electoral college of that year, he had been re-elected on the same ticket with Gen. Jackson. They had come into office on the tide of a civil revolution which had swept away the power of the younger Adams, as that of 1800 had swept away the power of the elder. They stood together, the heads and representatives of a great and victorious party; and it may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that the personal popularity of Mr. CALHOUN, like his official station, was then second only to that of Gen. Jackson. He was in the line of succession, and it was generally conceded that the influence of the Chief Magistrate would be exerted to promote his election to the Presidency upon his own retirement at the end of four years. It was at this time, and under these circumstances, with the most smiling auspices around him, while his star was yet in the ascendant and beckoned him on to the highest office to which an American citizen can aspire, that he shut his eyes upon the brilliant prospects before him, and devoted himself, heart, mind and soul, to the hard, arduous, and unpromising task of reforming the government, and saving the country from the fatal proclivities of its rulers. In his own simple but emphatic words—"The road of ambition lay open before me; I had but to follow the corrupt tendency of the times; but I chose to follow the rugged path of duty." There will be difference of opinion as to the soundness of his views, or the wisdom of his course, but it may be safely affirmed that our civil history does not present an example of sterner or more disinterested sacrifice of self to a sense of duty.

The particulars of that struggle are familiar to you—many of you were actors in it, and most, if not all, of you know its history by heart—the argument, the agitation, and the fierce contests—the assembling

of the convention and passing of the ordinance—the proclamation and counter-proclamation—the call to arms, and the warlike preparations on both sides—the breathing space that precedes the shock—and then "the *Compromise*," which stilled the troubled waters, and brought back again the calm and peace. In that, as in most exciting civil contests, the parties at home mistook each other's motives and purposes. On one side, it was believed that there was a reckless determination to dissolve the Union, and on the other, that there was an utter insensibility to the wrongs and injuries of the State. Both parties were in error. Afterwards mutual justice was done, and the era of good feeling restored; and thenceforward the unanimity of sentiment in the State has been almost unbroken.

Throughout the whole contest with the Federal Government, the bearing of Mr. CALHOUN was erect, manly, and undaunted. He betrayed no fear, and shrunk from no responsibility. It was one of those occasions that test the moral courage—which is the highest form of courage and one of the noblest attributes of mind. He knew that his cause was unpopular; that the hearts of the people had been turned against him; that his motives and purposes were misunderstood or misinterpreted; that he was encircled by the arms and the power of the very government whose action he arraigned and sought to overthrow; and that upon the issues of the contest it depended whether his name would descend to posterity, coupled with the epithet of traitor or of patriot; yet his courage did not fail nor his heart sink—he stood alone in the Senate house, unshaken, unterrified—and with no other weapons than those of justice, reason, and eloquence, won a victory for his cause, and for himself a brilliant renown. There is something in a moral attitude like this, which, if we are satisfied of the sincerity of the man, although we may disapprove his cause, compels our admiration and sympathy. And well might one of his great antagonists, when in after years he stood beside his bier, and felt the memory of this and other scenes come thronging upon his heart, say to his surviving compeers, as he described his demeanor in the Senate, "who did not feel that he might imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome when Rome survived."

It was certainly a great triumph to have brought to a stand a progressive policy like that of the American system, which pressed with gross inequality upon the capital and labor of the South; which tended to enrich one section while it impoverished the other; which by means of the tariff created a surplus, and by means of internal improvements supplied the means of squandering it, thereby creating a demand as

insatiable as the supply was lavish; and the end of which, if unchecked, no man could well foresee. But still greater and more singular, is the merit and service of having recalled the attention of the country, by bold and profound discussion, to the nature, extent, and limitations of the Constitution under which we live; of the delegated and limited powers of a government which is federal and not national, and in which the States are the "integers of a multiple," and not "the fractions of a unit;" and of the high, transcendent right of each State in the last resort, whether under or over the Constitution, to interpose in some form its sovereign authority, for the protection of the property or the liberties of its citizens; a right which presents the only refuge from intolerable oppression on the one side, and bloody revolution on the other; a right to which, (whatever may be said to the contrary,) every State of this Union will assuredly and inevitably resort, whenever it feels that an occasion has arisen of sufficient magnitude to call for its exercise.

It is in the order of Providence that at intervals of time men should be reared up, whose office and mission it is to abridge the powers and restrain the over-action of government; to oblige society to recur to first principles; to remind rulers of their trusts; and to enlarge or reclaim the liberties of the people. The time was when these foes to the "right divine" of rulers were denounced and oftentimes punished as traitors to the peace of society; but now they are known and honored as the Apostles of Liberty. Such men were the leaders of the Barons who wrested the charters from King John at Runnymede; such were Russell, and Sidney, and Hampden, and Milton, who in later days, in England, witnessed of the truth; such were the Fathers of our Revolution; such was Mirabeau, whose sentiment it was that "privileges shall have an end, but the people are eternal;" and such in our day was CALHOUN, a man of a century, whose character will be better understood and more valued, as in the progress of our institutions, men shall come to have a more thorough knowledge of that liberty which in his own words, "comprehends the idea of responsible power; that those who make and execute the laws should be controlled by those on whom they operate; that the governed should govern."

Time forbids us to follow Mr. CALHOUN through the long series of useful and brilliant services which, as an independent Senator in Congress, he rendered to the country. Party has its uses, but it has also its evils, and one of these is its tendency to blunt the moral sense, and to constrain to its behests the free and independent exercise of the judgment. Party has also its prizes and rewards; and the public man

who undertakes to question its infallibility pays the penalty by periling his prospects of place and power. This Mr. CALHOUN dared to do; he would not take the law from party, because he recognized higher obligations; wherever his principles and his convictions of duty led him, there was he to be found, seeking always the true spirit of the Constitution and the true policy of the country. Such men are rare, because self-sacrificing virtue—not in a single instance upon emergency, but in steady, uniform, consistent action—is rare; but when found, especially in a popular government where transient passion often takes the reason captive, their value is beyond all price. Take as a single example his course upon the Oregon controversy. This was one of those exciting questions that touched the infirmity of the American people—their love of land, their lust for territorial acquisition. The public mind had been wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement. The Democratic party, under the lead of the President, and with an ascertained majority in both Houses of Congress, had declared for "the whole of Oregon or none," and the Whigs fairly reeled before the impending storm. At this juncture, and with a view to the exigency, Mr. CALHOUN returned, after a short retirement, to the Senate. He was offered by the President the mission to England, with the charge of the Oregon negotiation. He refused it. He knew that the battle was to be fought here before the country, and here he determined to stand. Peace and war trembled in the scales before him. Both parties looked to him. He stood before them like some great Tribune of the people, armed with a veto upon the action of each. The opportunity was tempting to place himself at the head of a great popular movement, but he determined that the peace as well as the honor of the country should be preserved; and by his able discussions and the commanding influence of his position, he constrained a settlement which saved us from the direful consequences of an unnecessary war, and proved eminently satisfactory to the sober, second-thought of the people. Upon this occasion, as upon others, he spoke that "word of guidance and deliberance," which when timely spoken by the proper person, the people seldom fail to recognize; the word which rescues them from the dominion of their passions, and guides them in the path of true honor. In stemming the clamors of party and the madness that ruled the hour, Mr. CALHOUN rose to the height of the patriot statesman, and stood before the country in the attitude and full proportions of a rare and commanding greatness.

The union between these States—I mean the Constitutional Union—is founded on the basis of perfect equality. Upon the acknowledgment of independence, the colonies became separate and sovereign communi-

ties, free to subsist severally or in connexion as they might choose. The Constitution, which is the law of the Union, professed to have for its object, among other things, to "establish justice," to "insure domestic tranquillity," and to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." At the time of the adoption of the Constitution there were slaves in almost every State; but in the plantation States they most abounded, and there, from the nature of the soil and climate, they were most likely to continue and increase. The regulation of commerce was with the North one of the most powerful inducements to the Union; but with the South, whose great interest was agricultural, there was no such motive or necessity. Still a fraternal feeling, a recollection of common glories and common sufferings, and a general desire for security against dangers foreign and domestic, sufficed to bring all the States into a closer union than the confederation. But the Southern States, with a wise forecast and jealous caution, required stipulations and securities in relation to that species of property which they felt to be peculiarly their own. Accordingly slave property was recognized and protected by the Constitution, in the ratio of representation, in the ratio of direct taxation, in the provision for the surrender of fugitives from service or labor, and in the clause which allowed the importation of such persons as any State might choose, until the year 1820. And it is a curious but significant fact, that the adoption of this element in the ratio of direct taxation was intended as an equivalent to the Southern States for what they lost by it in the ratio of representation—an equivalent which has not been enjoyed by them in consequence of the general resort of the Government to indirect instead of direct taxation.

Slavery is one of those mysteries which human reason cannot fathom. Why it has been and is and shall be, is of the counsel of God. But there are some things which we, among whom it has existed for generations, *do* know—and these are of them: that it has a sanction in the Bible as well as in the Constitution; that the co-existence of two races in this section and the subordination of the one to the other, has been productive of positive good to both and has promoted the cause of civilization and religion; that the institution has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength; that it is wrought into all the parts and fibres of our system, social and political; and that in it are involved our peace, well-being and prosperity, nay, the very safety and existence of ourselves and children. It is our right, therefore, and our duty, to demand that it shall not be disturbed by others, either directly or indirectly.

Our forefathers dealt with this great interest and element of power

like men and statesmen. They fairly balanced the government in relation to it; and the covenant that they made in justice they kept in good faith. Years of peace rolled on; the government grew in favor by its wise and beneficent operation; and the people of the States, even those who had been distrustful of the Constitution, began to feel and acknowledge that the Union which had sprung out of their liberties was a new and cumulative blessing, like

"Another morn,
Risen on mid noon."

It was about the year 1818–19 that the spirit of fanaticism, the evil genius of this country, reared its miscreated front in the halls of federal legislation, bringing in its train discord, alienation and woe. The admission of Missouri into the Union was the occasion of its appearance. An attempt was made to impose upon that State a restriction as to slavery within her limits. A fearful agitation ensued. Missouri was finally admitted without the restriction; but a provision was inserted in the bill authorizing her to form a State government, by which slavery was for ever prohibited in all the territory acquired from France, by the name of Louisiana, lying to the north of 36° 30′ and not included within the limits of the State of Missouri. This was the Missouri compromise. It was a great and grievous error, because it violated the equal rights of the States, under the Constitution, in an immense territory which was their common property; because it connected a great moral and political principle with a geographical line; because it established an odious distinction between the slaveholding and the non-slaveholding States; and because it set an example which might be converted, as it has been converted, into a precedent for other and further encroachments. John Randolph saw it in this light, and refused to listen to any compromise; Mr. Jefferson saw it in the same aspect, and said with a melancholy foreboding, he should "die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country was to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons." The country too has at length awoke to a sense of the error, and there is reason to hope that it is in the way, not of repairing the mischief, for that cannot be done, but of retracting, as far as may be, the false step then taken.

For a series of years after the Missouri question, the spirit of aggression lay seemingly dormant; but it had been quietly reinforcing its strength and gathering up fresh materials of agitation. It re-appeared

in the year 1835, in a new shape, seeking to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and other places over which Congress had exclusive jurisdiction, and avowing that its ultimate object was to abolish it in the States. It invaded the school, the pulpit, the press, the popular elections and the halls of legislation. It became a tremendous element of political power, corrupted parties, swayed the operations of government, and finally shook the Union to its centre.

When petitions in relation to slavery were first presented, Mr. CALHOUN was in the Senate. He opposed their reception. Apart from the constitutional question, which he argued with great ability, his principle was to resist aggression in its beginnings, on the very frontiers; and for the philosophical reason that it is the more easily resisted there than elsewhere. Besides he had the wisdom to know that the smallest danger to an object of vital importance should never be disregarded. No statesman of that day had so clear and deep an insight as he into the magnitude of the evil and the disastrious consequences it involved. With prophetic truth he foretold the stages of its future progress. He warned the country that it would infect the then sound masses of the North; that its object was to establish a foothold in Congress as the centre of operations for a crusade against the institutions of the South; and that if it were allowed to proceed unchecked, deadly hostilities would spring up between the two sections, the conflicting elements of which would rend the Union asunder. The warnings of Cassandra were not more true or more unheeded. The outside barriers were soon thrown down; petitions poured into Congress; and abolition marched on its way triumphant.

Mr. CALHOUN was opposed to the Mexican war. The depth of that opposition, as he said, no man knew knew but himself. He foresaw that it would bring an acquisition of territory, and by inevitable consequence a renewal of strife. And such was the end. Brilliant as were the successes of the war, nothing can compensate for the civil mischiefs that have followed in its train.

The counsel and conduct of Mr. CALHOUN in relation to the territorial question was wise, patriotic and truly conservative. Timid minds called it rash, but in reality it was only bold and statesmanlike. There are some diseases of the body politic which take such deep root in the system as to defy the nostrums of quackery and require the skill and courage of science. This was one of them. He saw that it was a momentous issue touching the foundation of government and the safety of society, and he girded up his loins to grapple with it for life or for death. The difficulty lay not only in the hostile feeling—whether ori-

ginating in fanaticism, or the lust of power, or both combined—which had arrayed one part of the country against the institutions of the other; but in the action of the government, which in obedience to that sentiment, had destroyed the equilibrium in the relative political power of the two parts—an equilibrium which the very existence of an unfriendly geographical feeling rendered the more necessary for the protection of the weaker section. With patriotic anxiety he looked around for a remedy—for a means to "save ourselves and save the Union." He could see none outside the Constitution. What faith or dependence could be placed upon compromise, when even the Missouri line, a great and fatal concession on the part of the South, was repudiated and scornfully rejected by the North. The political elements were in wild commotion. The winds and the waves were up. There was no safety but in a retreat upon the Constitution. Hear his words: "I see my way in the Constitution; I cannot in a compromise. A compromise is but an act of Congress. It may be overruled at any time. It gives us no security. But the Constitution is stable. It is a rock. On it we can stand, and on it we can meet our friends from the non-slaveholding States. It is a firm and stable ground, on which we can better stand in opposition to fanaticism than on the shifting sands of compromise. Let us be done with compromises. Let us go back and stand upon the Constitution."

The equality of the States in their federal relation, equality in dignity and rights, was the great principle upon which he planted himself, and to which he held with unrelaxing grasp. It was the earnest and rooted conviction of his mind, confirmed by deep study and a long experience, that nothing but the practical recognition of this principle, enforced by fundamental guarantees, could save the South—the section in which his own dearest affections were garnered up, in which so much of intelligence, virtue, high civilization and uncalculating patriotism has its chosen seat, and which it harrowed the very depths of his proud soul to contemplate as sinking down into a condition of unresisting inferiority; and that nothing but this could in the end save the Union—the arena of his glories and his sacrifices—to which he had devoted so many years of noble and patriotic service, and which in his heart of hearts, he loved better and more wisely than those who slandered and calumniated his name, and who, while they cried with treacherous lips "All hail to the Union!" were inflicting blow after blow upon the Constitution, which is the life of the Union and without which it can "bear no life."

He died in the midst of the controversy. The "terrific difficulty"

pressed on his mind to the last, and with his dying breath he consecrated the principles for which he lived and labored. In him the cause of the Constitution, which is the cause of justice and liberty, as well as of Union, lost a steadfast friend, its ablest and most strenuous defender. And if, indeed, it has been cloven down in disastrous battle, it was because genius and virtue and the most chivalric spirit of heroism could not avail anything to prevent the catastrophe.

"Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent."

The genius of Mr. CALHOUN, as exhibited in his oratory and his writings, was of a commanding character, and will live in its effects not only on our institutions, but on the minds of men wherever the records of his thoughts shall reach. In its modes of display it was purely original, and more strongly marked, perhaps than that of any of our public men. His clear and powerful intellect grasped with equal facility the minutest details and the broadest general views. The rapidity of his intellectual processes was equalled only by their precision. The thinking power—not only the power of analysis which resolves complex ideas into their elements, but that of generalization which combines facts and principles into theories and systems—was developed in him to an amazing extent. In this regard, as well as in the fullness of his material and the sententious but pregnant brevity of his expression, his spoken and written discourses are a discipline for the student, and will instruct and delight posterity as they did the audiences to which they were addressed. The ardor of his mind, the vehemence of his will, was imprinted on every word he spoke and every line he wrote; but no one could fail to perceive that it was not the zeal of the advocate, but the deep earnestness, the intense and irrepressible enthusiasm of the lover of truth. Nor were his discussions confined to the interests of party or the purposes of a day; for in many of his speeches and papers, and more especially in that Posthumous Work which contains an elaborate exposition of his views of the science of government, he dealt with the great questions of right and liberty which are at the foundation of society and which affect the permanent well-being of mankind. To him more than to any of his cotemporaries will be awarded the praise of having found or made time, amid the busy cares of an active and stirring public life, to devote the powers of his clear and profound mind to philosophical speculation; and of having added, in systematic shape, the suggestions of a high reason and the

inductions of a large experience to the general sum of scientific knowledge.

Mr. CALHOUN'S practical statesmanship was manifested in his conduct of the war—of which he was the master spirit; and in the management of the War and State Departments—the former of which he reduced to its present admirable state of organization; and there is no extravagance in affirming that in power of combination, in fertility of resources, in the happy adaptation of means to ends, and in all the qualities which are required for administrative ability, he was not surpassed by any executive officer the country has had. It is sometimes said, as if in disparagement, that he had failed to enforce his policy. This may be the fault of opportunity or circumstances and not of the man. The mere politician may win a short triumph upon the expedient of a day; but it requires a higher mould of character, a nobler and more masterly wisdom, to mark out the line of conduct which, however rejected or disregarded at the time, will yet come to be recognized and approved by the more enlightened judgment of the people. Fox was a great statesman and yet he failed to carry out his policy; but it is believed that the principles and the fame of Fox are at this day dearer to the heart of the mass of the British nation than those of his great and successful rival, the younger Pitt. Mr. CALHOUN'S name is identified with the freedom of commerce, and with those principles of government which give the amplest security to the liberty of individuals and the rights of States, and just in proportion as mankind progress in the idea that the world is governed too much, will his policy be enforced and his statesmanship vindicated.

The character of Mr. CALHOUN is a noble subject for contemplation. It has the mingled air of simplicity and grandeur which we are in the habit of ascribing to the great historical character of antiquity. He was

> "Like Cato firm, like Aristides just,
> Like rigid Cincinnatus, nobly poor."

The same characteristics pervaded his personal demeanor, his oratory and his public exhibitions of himself, for they sprung out of the nature of the man. He knew no distinction between public and private morality, and regarded the State as but a wider sphere of duty than the family. Venality did not soil him, nor vulgar ambition corrupt his honesty. Office had no charms for him except as a means of public good;—witness his refusal of the mission to England that he might

confront the danger at home, and his acceptance of the department of State under Mr. Tyler, that by the annexation of Texas he might add a noble domain to the Union and secure our commerce and our frontier from the machinations of a foreign power. The highest office could not have honored him more than he would have honored it, for it was generally admitted that he was altogether worthy of it. In times of peril the eyes of the country turned instinctively to him for counsel or command; and the people of his State, who knew him best, were held bound to him, as if locked in indissoluble sympathy, by the wondrous spell of his genius and worth. No low or sordid motive was ever imputed to him; indeed nothing could be more admirable than the high tone of his moral and political sentiment. Out of this grew that stern and unyielding civic virtue which, as presented in his public conduct, is a picture and a study; and which, by the confidence it inspired, enabled him to stand alone, without place or patronage, upon a level where no other man could have stood so long, and by the force of his individual authority to overrule the fierce struggles of party for the good of the country. He resembled Chatham, not only in "the question of his death," as falling in the Senate House; but in the high antique style of his virtue, in his contempt for "the spoils," and in the indignant scorn with which he rebuked the corruptions and smote the abuses of his day. Not being the head of a great party he received no venal adulation, nor did he covet it; and as he preferred the interests of the people to their applause, his fame will be only the reflection of his greatness. The real substance of this will throw a mighty shadow along the tract of time; and when hereafter men shall contemplate calmly and without passion, the simple but majestic qualities of his nature, his purity, his truthfulness, his contempt for calumny, his courageous love of truth and justice, the deep earnestness and sincerity of the man that looked upon duty as more than life, and that greatness of soul which aspired in thought, word and action to whatever is most excellent in the estimation of men—all displayed, without effort or ostentation, in the private and social relation, as well as upon the theatre of public action—they will agree in the opinion that he was one of the grandest characters that America has produced.

*Gentlemen of the Association:*—We are united for the purpose of raising a suitable memorial in honor of the name of CALHOUN. In this work of civic gratitude, we but give expression to feelings and impulses that are common to the hearts of the people of the State, and that will find a response in every parish and district, from his late mountain home to his tomb near the sea. It is not that a monument is necessary to his

fame, for this rests on foundations more enduring than marble or brass. In his genius which was animated by duty, in his virtue which stood "firm as a rock against the beating waves," in the greatness of his example, in the lessons of his recorded wisdom, and in the sum of his illustrious public services, which extended over a period of more than forty years and compassed the whole circle of national politics and interests;—in these are his titles to renown. Tradition and history will take care of his memory. Not for *him* are the column and the pile!

> "Dear son of Memory! Great heir of Fame!
> What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
> Thou, in our wonder and astonishment,
> Hast built thyself a livelong monument,
> And, so sepulchred, in such pomp dost lie,
> That kings, for such a tomb, might wish to die!"

We who have had the happiness to see and hear and know him, have his image in our hearts, and need no other remembrancer. But a feeling of gratitude to the dead and a sense of duty to posterity alike impel us to this work. Around the monument we rear will cluster associations that will render the spot a place of pilgrimage to those who succeed us. There will they repair to refresh their patriotism, to strengthen or catch anew the sentiment of duty, and to learn how beautiful and noble a thing it is to serve one's country and to be remembered by it with blessings!

*Ladies of Carolina:*—With modest ardor you have obeyed the instincts of your nature and brought the homage and the offerings of your hearts to the altar of a great memory. In what another has called "the almost seraphic purity of the personal character" of Mr. CALHOUN, and in the beautiful consistency of his public with his private virtue, is the charm that has won you to this labor of patriotic love. There is hope in your sympathy; there is encouragement in your smiles; there is the sober certainty of success in your endeavors. And when in coming years the column shall lift its summit in noble proportions to the sky, a fit emblem of his worth and a memorial worthy the gratitude of a generous people, its crowning beauty will be the garlands of grace thrown upon it by the hands of his fair country-women!

# ODE,

## BY WILLIAM J. RIVERS.

The warrior we praise, who hath fought unsubdued,
While raged the dread storm of the battle around him;
Oh! praise him who triumphed, unblemished with blood,—
For Justice and Truth with fair garlands crowned him!
We will praise thro' all time, the brave deeds of each clime—
Yet mightier than Valor, soars Wisdom sublime;
And her vigils unwearied, bright visions disclose,
Where Peace fears no perils, and nations repose!

We praise him who turned from the splendors of power,
O'er Truth's clouded altar his banner unfolding;
Our foes ever baffled, in strife's darkest hour,
With homage were bowed, our stern champion beholding.
Majestic he stood—as a prophet of God
The future revealing—and senates were awed!
And his arm was still lifted, and fearless his soul,
When serenely he paused, where death's dark billows roll.

Shall we see, by no grateful remembrance adorned,
The grave where our dauntless defender is sleeping?
Tho' mourned for, as never was conqueror mourned,
Tho' wept for, with grief that hath hallowed our weeping!
From afar to our home, shall the stranger e'er come,
And ask for his tomb, and our children be dumb?
Oh, no! o'er his ashes our deeds shall proclaim,
How in death, as in life, we have honored his name!

# CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The task of the Editor, however unskilfully performed, is here ended. The *literary* monument to CALHOUN is now finished. Composed of the undying material of mind; cemented by kindred sympathies; upheld by the mutual dependence of the several parts; and the whole crowned with the wreath and coloring of poetic thought, it stands firm and fair-proportioned—bathed in its own bright light, and covered all over with glowing inscriptions. More lasting than any physical structure, more fitting than any work of men's hands, this memorial is perhaps better than even a "starry-pointing pyramid." Such, however, as it is—whatever may be its merits, we commit it in all its deep significance to the People of South Carolina.

THE END.

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